A GRAMMAR OF THE TODA LANGUAGE

Dr. S. SAKTHIVEL
CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY IN LINGUISTICS

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these people in their own languages, it will be very difficult for us to win over them and to explain the virtues of the social reforms, that we have undertaken. In this era of democracy each individual irrespective of his caste or creed is entitled to have all the comforts and privileges assured by the constitution of India

With all these in view, the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Annamalai University has undertaken the project 'Descriptive Studies of the Uncultivated Dravidian Languages' and has planned to work on the languages like Kota, Toda, Kasaba, Irula, Paniya and Kattunaicka etc I am immensely pleased that the Centre is able to bringout the present monograph **A Grammar of the Toda Language** by Dr S. Sakthivel. It is my earnest hope that this will be very useful not only to the linguists but also to other social scientists who work on the Todas. I am very happy indeed that we are now able to publish it under the publication programme of the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Annamalai University

Annamalai University
ANNAMALAINAGAR
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S. Agesthialingom
DIRECTOR
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Preface

The present treatise **A Grammar of the Toda Language** is part of my Ph. D. thesis submitted to the Annamalai University in the year 1974 **Phonology of Toda with Vocabulary** has already been published by the Annamalai University. An ethnological study of the Todas, all the relevant phonological features of this language with examples and vocabulary have been dealt in that treatise Though several changes were made the inner core remains to be the same. All the relevant morphological features of this language have been studied and examples are also given in this work. A syntactic description of this language is presented here based on the transformational – generative approach.

I owe a debt of deep sense of sincere gratitude and gratefulness to my respected Professor Dr. S. Agesthialingom, Head of the Department of Linguistics and Director, Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Annamalai University for having taught me not only the modern linguistic theories and generative grammar but also guided and helped in all the ways by giving his constructive suggestions, invaluable and stimulating guidance, immense encouragement, sympathetic consideration and personal care which enabled

me to complete this research work and to bring it to the light of the day and also for his kindness in including this work in the publication series of the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Annamalai University.

I like to express my gratitude to Dr. S. V. Shanmugam, Dr. P. S. Subrahmanyam and Dr. N. Kumaraswami Raja, Readers in Linguistics, Annamalai University for their valuable suggestions. I am grateful to Dr. G. Srinivasa Varma, Mr. T. Edward Williams, Dr. R. Balakrishnan and Mr. N. Rajasekharan Nair for having helped me in one way or other in the course of my research work. I am grateful to Mr. G. Sankaranarayanan and P. Muthuswamy Pillai for correcting the proofs.

I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. S. Chandrasekhar, Vice - Chancellor and the authorities of the Annamalai University for having given me the facilities to accomplish this work, to the University Grants Commission for the generous grants for the publication of this book through the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics and to M/s Sri Velan Press, Chidambaram who executed the printing work neatly.

S. Sakthivel

Abbreviations

Abl.	Ablative
Acc.	Accusative
Adj.	Adjective
Adv.	Adverb
Adv_{l}.	Adverb of limit
Adv_{man}.	Adverb of manner
Adv_{part}.	Adverb of particle
Adv_{t}.	Adverb of time
Aux.	Auxiliary
Caus.	Causative
Cl.	Clitics
Cond.	Conditional
Conj	Conjunctive
Dat.	Dative
Decl.	Declarative
Dem.	Demonstrative
Desi.	Desiderative
DPN.	Demonstrative pronoun
Dubi.	Dubitative
Encl.	Enclitics
Ex.	Example
Excl.	Exclusive
Fem.	Feminine
Frac	Fraction
Gen.	Genitive
G. N.	Gender-number
Hort.	Hortative
Imper.	Imperative
Incl.	Inclusive
Ins.	Instrumental
Inter.	Interrogative
Intr.	Intransitive
L.	Names of length (measure)
Loc.	Locative
M.	Names of measure
M. adj.	Mass adjective
Mas.	Masculine
N.	Noun
N_{A}.	Animate noun
N_{da}.	Names of day
Neg.	Negative
Neut.	Neuter
N_{IA}.	Inanimate noun
N_{mon}.	Names of months
NP.	Noun phrase
Num.	Numeral
Obj.	Object
Obl.	Obligatory

Opt.	Optional
Ord.	Ordinal
Part.	Particle
PDPN	Proximate demonstrative pronoun
Perm.	Permissive
Pers. sfx.	Personal suffix
Pl	Plural
PN.	Pronoun
P.N.	Participial noun
PPN.	Personal pronoun
Pres.	Present tense
Proh.	Prohibitive
RDPN	Remote demonstrative pronoun
R. P.	Relative participle
S.	Sandhi rule [in Sandhi]
S.	Sentence [in Syntax]
Sfx	Suffix
Sg.	Singular
Soc.	Sociative
St	Stem
Tem.	Temporal
Ten.	Tense
TM.	Time expression
Tr.	Transitive
V. N.	Verbal noun
Voc.	Vocative
Vol.	Voluntative
V. P.	Verbal participle
VP.	Verb pharse

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Contents

1

Introduction

The Todas are a small tribal community in the Nilgiris, speaking the Toda language and they are wellknown to anthropologists for the aberrancy of their buffalo centred culture. The Todas call their language as *o:ṭ fo:š*. Much work has been done on ethnological studies of Todas but very little work in linguistics is available on the Toda language. According to the 1971 Census of India, the language is spoken by a total of 930 persons

Bernhard Schmid (1837) regarded Toda language as a member of the Dravidian family or more exactly as a relative of Tamil[1]. Robert Caldwell (1856) in the first edition of

1 'On the Dialect of the Todavers, the aborigines of the Neelgherries', *Madras Journal of Letters and Science*, Vol. v, p. 155–8, 1837.

'A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian family of languages' accepted this view on the basis of vocabulary and short sentences[2]. Grierson (1905) also endorses this view[3]. Ruckert (1848) holds that the Tamoul language has a remarkable analogy with the Tartar dialect. Shortt (1868) in his book embodying *'An Account of tribes on the Nilgiris'* has recorded as follows: 'The language of the tribe on the Nilgiris is unmistakably Tamil although what is now spoken is a mixed dialect being a jargon of Tamil and Canarese'[4]. Aiyappan (1948) says that 'the language of the Toda is definitely connected with Tamil rather than with Kannada'[5].

Metz (1864), one of the earliest persons to come into contact with Todas holds the view that it is a dialect of Canarese[6]. G. U. Pope (1873) says that it is a kind of Old Kanarese As regard the structure of language, he points out,

"The Tuda language has no compositions, written or unwritten, not a ballad nor a scrap of anything to indicate

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2 Caldwell, R *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian family of languages*, p. 15, 1856.

3 Grierson, G A *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. iv, p. 283, 1906

4 Shortt, J. *An Account of tribes on the Nilgiris*, 1868.

5 Aiyappan, A. *Report on the Socio-economic conditions of the Aboriginal tribes in the province of Madras*, 1948.

6 Metz, J F 'A Vocabulary of the Dialect spoken by the Todas of the Nilgiri mountains', *Madras Journal of Letters and Science*, i) p 103-8, 131-46, 1856-57; ii) p. 1-24, 1857

intellectual activity. The Tudas, like their buffaloes, are fine animals; but they are least cultivated of the Dravidian races. No trace remains of the employment by them of any written character; it is probable, therefore, that they separated from the other Dravidians before the 'ur-sprache' of those tribes was reduced to writing.

This language, of which but a very scanty fragment remains in use, has more sounds than any other Dravidian dialect, and some of those are peculiar to it, seeming to have been modified by the position and habits of the tribe.

The Tuda chiefly converse in the open air, calling to each other from one breezy hill top to another. Their speech sounds like Old Kanarese spoken in the teeth of a gale of wind.

The Tudas is a language which was once highly inflectional; but having lost most of its inflections, the people who have evidently degenerated in every way as the result of isolation, have not replaced them by significant particle or auxiliaries to the same extent as the other South Indian tribes and the language has thus dwindled down to a mere skeleton It now barely suffices for the purposes of a very barbarous people.

The language seems to have been originally Old Kanarese, and not a distinct dialect. The Tudas were probably immigrants from the Kanarese Country; and have dwelt on the Nilgiris for about 800 years Their language was Old Kanarese. A few Tamil forms were introduced by Poligars. Intercourse with the Badagas has probably modernized a few of the forms and introduced some words. Telugu influences

I see no trace. Nor can I trace any resemblance in Tuda to Malayalam, in any of the position where the dialects differs from its sisters"[7]. Robert Caldwell in his second edition (1875) quoted and apparently approved this view[8]. The Nilgiri District Manual furnishes these information on Toda speech. The Toda language is by no means confined to use by Todas alone as was once thought to be, It is a dialect of of Old Canarese and closely allied to other Dravidian languages of the plains

W. H. R Rivers (1906) in his monumental work '*The Todas,* has tried to show that there is an affinity between Toda and Malayalam

Dr Oppert holds the view that the Toda is probably allied to Telugu than any other southern dialects

According to Henry Harkness Toda language has no affinity with Sanskrit. According to Prince Peter of Greece (1951) it is related to Sumerian language. This is based on the coincidence he found in the names of gods between the Sumerian and Toda

Among the Dravidian languages modern Malayalam alone has lost its inflections for number and person in the verb, whereas Toda has such inflections with forms that are of the

7 Pope, G U 'A Brief outline of the Grammar of the Tuda language', In *Phrenologists amongst the Todas*, p. 239–269, 1873.

8 Caldwell, R. *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian family of Languages* (Second Edition), p. 512, 1875.

general type. Verb forms without personal endings first appeared in Malayalam records at the end of the 9th century. Toda had been separated from Malayalam before that time. We can see a contrast between Malayalam developments of **ṅk* > *ṅṅ*, *ñc* > *ññ*, **nṟ* > *ṉṉ*. **nt* > *nn* and Toda development of a cluster made up of homorganic nasal plus stop to voiced stop (losing the nasal)

Eg	Ta.	*pambu*	To	*po·b*	(*mb* > *b*)
	Ta	*vant-*	To	*pod*	(*nt* > *d*)
	Ta.	*tiṉṟ-*	To.	*tīḏ*	(*ṉṟ* > *ḏ*)
	Ta	*kaṇṭ-*	To.	*koḍ*	(*ṇṭ* > *ḍ*)

Malayalam diverged as a separate language from Tamil from the early Middle Tamil age. Palatalization of initial **k* took place before the front vowels *i*, *e* except when the vowel is followed by a retroflex *ṭ*, *ṇ*, *ḷ* and *ṛ*. Toda does not show palatalization of PDr. **k* before front vowels while PDr **c* changes as *t* in Toda So we can say that Toda is not a Tamil–Malayalam dialect

To say that it is a dialect of Telugu is also geographically implausible. Toda does not show palatalization of PDr. **k* before front vowels but Telugu shows this from the earliest records. Another specific feature of Telugu is metathesis but Toda shows nothing of this. Telugu past tense formation is simple. Most of the Telugu words end in vowels whereas most of the Toda words end in consonants So, Toda is not a dialect of Telugu.

Kannada is the only South Dravidian language which has an innovation of the replacement of *p* > *h* systematically and thoroughly.

Eg. *pa·lu* > *ha:lu* 'milk'
pa:tu > *ha:ḍu* 'to sing'
po·lu > *ho:lu* 'to be alike'

Toda uses the root *ta*- to give (first or second person) as indirect object, *kotu* when there is a third person as indirect object. Kannada in its earliest records did not make this distinction The morphological evidence of the sibilant past tense suffix and phonological matter of *ṟṟ* are clear indications that Toda was already going its own way as a language at least as early as the earliest Kannada records. Kannada uses aspirates as phonemes but Toda does not *i / e* and *u / o* alternation are not found in Toda language whereas it operates in Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada and Telugu. If Toda preserves a proto-Dravidian feature and Old Kannada does not, Toda might derive from Proto–Dravidian or from any language that preserves the Proto-Dravidian feature. There is no doubt that many words of Kannada origin can be traced in this language, when they speak with other tribes. Such words may be accounted for by their long intercourse with the Badagas who are of Kanarese stock. Moreover many words of quite common use cannot be traced to any other language of the neighbours Prof. M B Emeneau has concluded 'we have really no right to class Toda as a dialect of Kannada rather than as a dialect of some other South Dravidian or as an independent language'[9]

Toda is not a dialect of any of the important languages that are its neighbours, Tamil, Malayalam and Kannada but it is an independent language of the Dravidian family.

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9 Emeneau, M B "Toda, A Dravidian language", *Transactions of the Philological Society*, p. 34, 1957.

Todas live at the meeting place of Tamil, Malayalam and Kannada languages but owing to their isolated position their language is not a blend of these but has very definite and distinct characteristics of its own, as might be expected from the character of the people. Todas, Kotas and Badagas live together and have lived together for centuries, even though three mutually unintelligible languages are spoken Generally Nilgiri languages have been almost isolated geographically from all other South Dravidian languages. Toda is in fact a descendant of an off shoot from Proto-Tamil which is of course the ancestor of both Tamil and off-shoot from Malayalam Toda belongs with Tamil - Malayalam rather than with Kannada.

One evidence to sub-grouping of Toda-Kota Nilgiri sub-group does not share palatalization of *k–* before front vowels we must posit that the splitting off the Nilgiri sub-group took place before the Tamil palatalization These two languages disagree with the other South Dravidian languages in having South Dravidian past stem for both past and non-past. This must be interpreted as an innovation shared in common by these two languages and since such deep seated borrowing is implausible unless other evidences necessitate the assumption Bh. Krishnamurti has made it clear that Toda and Kota share a common innovation in the oblique forms of the first person pronoun exclusive and inclusive[10] In both the languages alveolar plosive is preserved There is a deep lying identity in the phonological and grammatical structures of Kota and Toda. Separation of Pre-Toda and Kota took

10 Krishnamurti, Bh 'Dravidian personal pronoun', *Studies in Indian Linguistics*, p. 189–205, Poona and Annamalainagar, 1968.

place before the Tamil palatalization reached their place of origin *i.e.* probably at the period round about the beginning of the Tamil recorded texts.

One of the most striking features of Toda is the lose of vowels in non-initial syllables. Toda could be classed with the southern languages alone, since they have alveolar phonemes distinguished from dentals and retroflexes. Toda morphology is different in many respects from that of any other of the language. Secondary stem (termed as S_2) is the basis for the past tense but in Toda it is the basis for the past and non-past. Toda is the only language which retains in full working order as part of the past tense formation the sibilant suffix that must be reconstructed as part of the past tense apparatus for Proto-Dravidian.

Phonology of Toda with Vocabulary has already been published by the Annamalai University[11]. An enthnological study of the Todas, all the relevant phonological features of this language with examples and Vocabulary have been presented in that treatise.

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11 Sakthivel, S. *Phonology of Toda with Vocabulary*, (DLP 41), Annamalai University, 1976.

2

Sandhi

2.0. Internal Sandhi, occurring within a word bounded by pause is alone discussed in this chapter. In this chapter the ampersand '&' is used to represent the morpheme boundary and the '—' is used to indicate the place of the phoneme in question. The Sandhi rules are referred to in the following chapters. These rules are ordered and in cases where two or more rules operate, they operate one after another in the order in which they are given.

2.1. $$t \longrightarrow \underset{\cdot}{t} \;/\; \left\{ \begin{matrix} \underset{\cdot}{l} \\ \underset{\cdot}{n} \end{matrix} \right\} \;\&_$$

u:ḷ & t (Sources 4.1.1.2) —> *u:ḷ & ṭ*

tu:ḷ & t (4.1.1.2) —> *tu:ḷ & ṭ*

pī:ḷ & t	(4.1.1.2)	—>	*pī:ḷ & ṭ*
pu:ḷ & t	(4.1.1.2)	—>	*pu:ḷ & ṭ*
kiskwīḷ & t	(4.1.1.2)	—>	*kiskwīḷ & ṭ*
ni:ḷ & t	(4.1.1.2)	—>	*ni:ḷ & ṭ*
pe:ḷ & t	(4.1.1.2)	—>	*pe:ḷ & ṭ*
ko:ṇ & t	(4.1.1.2)	—>	*ko:ṇ & ṭ*

2.2. $\left\{\begin{matrix} ḷ \\ ṇ \end{matrix}\right\} \longrightarrow \emptyset \;/\; — \;\&\; ṭ$

u:ḷ & ṭ	(S.2.1)	—>	*u:ṭ*
tu:ḷ & ṭ	(S.2.1)	—>	*tu:ṭ*
pī:ḷ & ṭ	(S.2.1)	—>	*pī:ṭ*
pu:ḷ & ṭ	(S.2.1)	—>	*pu:ṭ*
kiskwīḷ & ṭ	(S.2.1)	—>	*kiskwīṭ*
ni:ḷ & ṭ	(S.2.1)	—>	*ni:ṭ*
pe:ḷ & ṭ	(S.2.1)	—>	*pe:ṭ*
ko:ṇ & ṭ	(S.2.1)	—>	*ko:ṭ*

2.3. $t \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} k \\ p \\ ṭ \\ ṯ \end{bmatrix} \Bigg/ \begin{bmatrix} \left\{\begin{matrix} x \\ g \end{matrix}\right\} \\ b \\ \left\{\begin{matrix} ḍ \\ ṛ \end{matrix}\right\} \\ \left\{\begin{matrix} ṟ \\ l \end{matrix}\right\} \end{bmatrix} \& —$

alx & t	(4.1.1.2)	—>	*alx & k*
ī:x & t	(4.1.1.2)	—>	*ī:x & k*

oḍg & t	(4.1.1.2)	—>	*oḍg & k*
tīrb & t	(4.1.1.2)	—>	*tīrb & p*
o:ḍ & t	(4.1.1.2)	—>	*o:ḍ & ṭ*
ku:ṛ & t	(4.1.1.2)	—>	*ku:ṛ & ṭ*
ni:ṛ & t	(4.1.1.2)	—>	*ni:ṛ & ṭ*
mo:ṟ & t	(4.1.1.2)	—>	*mo:ṟ & ṯ*
tö:ṟ & t	(4.1.1.2)	—>	*tö:ṟ & ṯ*
no:l & t	(4.1.1.2)	—>	*no:l & ṯ*

2.4. $$\begin{bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} x \\ g \end{Bmatrix} \\ b \\ \begin{Bmatrix} \text{ḍ} \\ \text{ṛ} \end{Bmatrix} \\ \begin{Bmatrix} \text{ṟ} \\ l \end{Bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \emptyset \;/\; _\ \& \begin{bmatrix} k \\ d \\ \text{ṭ} \\ \text{ṯ} \end{bmatrix}$$

alx & k	(S.2.3)	—>	*alk*
ī:x & k	(S.2.3)	—>	*ī:x*
oḍg & k	(S.2.3)	—>	*oḍk*
wīṛg & k	(S.2.3)	—>	*wīṛk*
tīrb & p	(S.2.3)	—>	*trīp*
o:ḍ & ṭ	(S.2.3)	—>	*o:ṭ*
ku:ṛ & ṭ	(S.2.3)	—>	*ku:ṭ*
ni:ṛ & ṭ	(S.2.3)	—>	*ni:ṭ*
mo:ṟ & ṯ	(S.2.3)	—>	*mo:ṯ*
tö:ṟ & ṯ	(S.2.3)	—>	*tö:ṯ*
no:l & ṯ	(S.2.3)	—>	*no:ṯ*

2.5. $$p \longrightarrow f \;\Big/ \left\{\begin{matrix} \bar{\imath} \\ ṭ \end{matrix}\right\} — \;\&\; V$$

ī & poɵ	(3.6.2.1)	—>	*ī & foɵ* .
öṭ & poɵ	(3.6.8.2)	—>	*öṭ & foɵ*

2.6 $$p \longrightarrow \emptyset \;\Big/ \left\{\begin{matrix} ṟ \\ w \end{matrix}\right\} — \;\&\; V$$

aṟ & poɵ	(3.6.6.1)	—>	*aṟoɵ*
öw & poɵ	(3.6.7.2)	—>	*öwoɵ*

2.7. $$m \longrightarrow \emptyset \;/\; — \;\&\left\{\begin{matrix} t \\ x \end{matrix}\right\}$$

sonm & t & k	(3.2.2.4)	—>	*son & t & k*
no:ym & t & k	(3.2.2.4)	—>	*no:y & t & k*
kīnm & t & k	(3.2.2.4)	—>	*kīn & t & k*
pojo:rm & t & s̱n	(3.2.2.5)	—>	*pojo:r & t & s̱n*
poṇm & xo:ṟn	(3.7.1.1)	—>	*poṇ & xo:ṟn*
twī:ṭm & xo:ṟn	(3.7.1.1)	—>	*twī:ṭ & xo:ṟn*

2.8. $$ṟ \longrightarrow ṯ \;/\; — \;\&\; k$$

kö:ṟ & k	(3.2.2.4)	—>	*kö:ṯ & k*

2.9. $$ŧ \longrightarrow l \;/\; — \;\&\left\{\begin{matrix} c \\ f \end{matrix}\right\}$$

kaŧ & c	(4.1.1.1)	—>	*kal & c*

twī:ṛ & c	(4.1 1.1)	—>	*twī:l & c*
kaṛ & fy	(4 2.4)	—>	*kal & fy*

2 10. *ṛ* ⟶ *n* / — & *m*·

naṛ & my	(3.7 5)	—>	*nan & my*

2.11 *ṛ* ⟶ *ḍ* / — & *c*

köṛ & c	(4.1.1 1)	—>	*köḍ & c*

2 12 *ḍ* ⟶ *ṛ* / — & $\left\{ \begin{matrix} t \\ f \end{matrix} \right\}$

öḍ & t	(4.1.1.2)	—>	*öṛ & t*
kaḍ & t	(4.1.1.2)	—>	*kaṛ & t*
öḍ & f	(4 1.1.2)	—>	*öṛ & f*

2 13. *sö.r* ⟶ *sö:* / — & *t*

sö.r & t	(4.1.1.2)	—>	*sö:t*

2 14. *s̱* ⟶ *š* / *y* & —

poṭy & s̱	(3 2 2.7)	—>	*poṭy & š*
kulo:y & s̱	(3 2 2.7)	—>	*kulo:y & š*
aḍy & s̱	(3 2 2 7)	—>	*aḍy & š*
po:y & s̱	(3 2.2.7)	—>	*po:y & š*
kīy & s̱	(4 11.2 1)	—>	*kīy & š*
i škity & s̱ & n	(3 2 2 5)	—>	*ı.škity & š & n*
koce·ry & s̱ &n	(3 2.2.5)	—>	*koce:ry & š & n*

2.15. s̲ → ṣ { ṭ, ḍ, ṇ, ṛ } & —

uṭ & s̲	(3 2.2.7)	—>	*uṭ & ṣ*
uṭ & s̲ & n	(3.2.2.5)	—>	*uṭ & ṣ & n*
wī:ḍ & s̲	(4.11.2 1)	—>	*wī ḍ & s*
uṇ & s̲	(4.11.2.1)	—>	*uṇ & ṣ*
naṛ & s̲	(4.11.2.1)	—>	*naṛ & ṣ*

2.16. s̲ → ẓ / ī: & —

twī: & s̲	(3 2 2 7)	—>	*twī: & ẓ*

2.17 n → ṇ / { t, ḍ, ṣ, ẓ, ṇ, ṭ, ḷ } & —

pe·ṭ & n	(3.1.1.1)	—>	*pe.t & ṇ*
pīṭ & n	(3.1.1.1)	—>	*pīṭ & ṇ*
kofḍ & n	(3.1.1.1)	—>	*kofḍ & ṇ*
wīḍ & n	(3.1.1.1)	—>	*wīḍ & ṇ*
eṭ & n	(3.1.1.1)	—>	*eṭ & ṇ*

no·s & n	(3.1.1.1)	—>	*no:ṣ & ṇ*
o:ṭ & n	(3.2.2.1)	—>	*o:ṭ & ṇ*
koḷ & n	(4.2.2.5)	—>	*kol & ṇ*
uṭ & s & n	(S.2.15)	—>	*uṭ & ṣ & ṇ*

2.18. $c_1 \longrightarrow \emptyset \ / \ c_1 \ \& \ —$

where c_1 is nasal or sibilant.

en & n	(3 2 2 6)	—>	*en*
nīn & n	(3.2.2.6)	—>	*nīn*
pīṛs & s & pin & i	(4 3.1.2.2)	—>	*pīrs & pin & i*
ars & s & pin & i	(4 3 1.2 2)	—>	*ars & pin & i*
pe:s & s & pin & i	(4.3.1 2 2)	—>	*pe·s & pin & i*
kīs & s & pin & i	(4.3.1 2.2)	—>	*kīs & pin & i*
paš & še & pin & i	(4 6 1)	—>	*paš & e & pin & i*
taš & še & pin & i	(4.6 1)	—>	*taš & e & pin & i*
paš & š & pin & i	(4.7 1)	—>	*paš & pin & i*
taš & š & pin & i	(4.7.1)	—>	*taš & pin & i*

2.19. $\begin{Bmatrix} i: \\ n \end{Bmatrix} \longrightarrow \emptyset \ / \ — \ \& \ a:$

eyi: & a:	(3 2 2.9)	—>	*ey & a:*
okn & a:	(3 2 2 9)	—>	*ok & a:*

2.20. $\begin{Bmatrix} c \\ j \end{Bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} \check{c} \\ \check{j} \end{Bmatrix} \Big/ — \ \& \ y$

(Rules 2.20 – 2.40 operate in the secondary stem formation (S_2))

kī:c & y	(Sources 4.3)	—>	*ki:č & y*
monc & y	(4.3)	—>	*monč & y*
naḍc & y	(4.3)	—>	*naḍč & y*
müc & y	(4.3)	—>	*müč & y*
ti:rc & y	(4.3)	—>	*ti rč & y*
ni:j & y	(4.3)	—>	*nı ǰ & y*
oj & y	(4.3)	—>	*oǰ & y*
pu:j & y	(4.3)	—>	*pu·ǰ & y*
pīḍj & y	(4.3)	—>	*pīḍǰ & y*
mo.j & y	(4.3)	—>	*mo:ǰ & y*

2.21. $$y \longrightarrow \emptyset \;/ \left\{ \begin{matrix} \check{c} \\ \check{j} \end{matrix} \right\} \& \;—$$

ki:č & y	(S.2.20)	—>	*kı·č*
monč & y	(S.2.20)	—>	*monč*
naḍč & y	(S.2.20)	—>	*naḍč*
müč & y	(S.2.20)	—>	*müč*
tī:rč & y	(S.2.20)	—>	*ti:rč*
ni:ǰ & y	(S.2.20)	—>	*nı:ǰ*
oǰ & y	(S.2.20)	—>	*oǰ*
pu·ǰ & y	(S.2.20)	—>	*pu:ǰ*
pīḍǰ & y	(S.2.20)	—>	*pīḍǰ*
mo:ǰ & y	(S.2.20)	—>	*mo:ǰ*

2.22. *θ ⟶ s / y & —*

mı:y & θ	(4.3)	—>	*mi·y & s*
kīy & θ	(4.3)	—>	*kīy & s*
müry & θ	(4.3)	—>	*müry & s*
aṛy & θ	(4 3)	—>	*aṛy & s*
kwīy & θ	(4.3)	—>	*kwīy & s*

2.23 *r ⟶ Ø / — & θ*

pī·ṛfor & θ	(4.3)	—>	*pī:ṛfoθ*
kö r & θ	(4 3)	—>	*kö:θ*
o.ı & θ	(4.3)	—>	*o:θ*

2 24. $\begin{bmatrix} i\d{d}y \\ soy \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} i\d{d} \\ so \end{bmatrix} \Big/ \;—\; \&\; t$

iḍy & t	(4.3)	—>	*iḍt*
soy & t	(4.3)	—>	*sot*

2.25. *t ⟶ c / y & —*

twī:y & t	(4.3)	—>	*twī:y & c*
mony & t	(4.3)	—>	*mony & c*
uny & t	(4.3)	—>	*uny & c*
ary & t	(4.3)	—>	*ary & c*
kary & t	(4.3)	—>	*kary & c*
pīry & t	(4.3)	—>	*pīry & c*
paṛy & t	(4.3)	—>	*paṛy & c*

2.26. $$y \longrightarrow \emptyset \;/\; __ \;\&\; \begin{Bmatrix} t \\ k \\ f \\ c \\ V \\ sib \end{Bmatrix}$$

V stands for vowel
sib stands for sibilant

nwī.ty & o & t & i	(4.4.1)	—>	*nwī t & o & t & i*
nwī:ty & o & s̱ & i	(4.4 1)	—>	*nwī:t & o & s̱ & i*
ürpy & t	(4 3.1 1 3)	—>	*ürp & t*
ösťy&kīs̱&o&en&i	(4.17 1)	—>	*öšt&kīs̱&o&en&i*
nwī:ty&kīs̱&o&en&i	(4.17 1)	—>	*nwī:t&kīs̱&o&en&i*
ösťy&kis̱&o&p&i	(4.17.1)	—>	*öšt&kīs̱&o&p&i*
öšty & ∅ & foy	(4.12.2)	—>	*öšt & ∅ & & foy*
noky & ∅ & foy	(4 12.2)	—>	*nok & ∅ & foy*
twī:y & c	(S.2 25)	—>	*twī:c*
mony & c	(S 2.25)	—>	*monc*
uny & c	(S.2.25)	—>	*unc*
ary & c	(S 2.25)	—>	*arc*
kary & c	(S 2 25)	—>	*karc*
pīry & c	(S 2 25)	—>	*pīrc*
paṟy & c	(S.2 25)	—>	*paṟc*
mi:y & s	(S 2 22)	—>	*mi:*
kīy & s	(S 2.22)	—>	*kīs*
müry & s	(S.2 22)	—>	*mürs*
aṟy & s	(S.2.22)	—>	*aṟs*
kwīy & s	(S 2 22)	—>	*kwīs*

tüṭy & s & pin & i	(4.3 1.2.2) —>	*tüṭ & s & pin & i*
no·ṭy & s & pin & ı	(4.3.1.2 2) —>	*no:ṭ & s & pin & i*
pīty & s & pin & i	(4 3.1.2.2) —>	*pīt & s & pın & i*
e mo:ty & s & pın & i	(4.3.1 2.2) —>	*e:mo:t & s & pın & ı*
pinty & s & pın & i	(4.3.1.2 2) —>	*pint & s & pin & ı*
kody & s & pın & ı	(4 3.1 2 2) —>	*kod & s & pın & i*
udy & s & pın & ı	(4 3 1 2 2) —>	*ı d & s & pin & i*
nwī:ty & s & pını & ı	(4 3 1.2 2) —>	*nwī.ṭ & s & pin & i*
ni:dy & s & pın & ı	(4.3.1.2.2) —>	*nı.d & s & pin & ı*
koṭy & s & pın & ı	(4 3 1 2.2) —>	*koṭ & s & pin & i*
ni:ty & s & pın & ı	(4.3 1 2 2) —>	*ni t & s & pin & i*
pu ty & s & pin & ı	(4.3.1.2 2) —>	*pu:t & s & pın & i*
kufy & s & pin & i	(4 3 1.2 2) —>	*kuf & s & pın & i*
karky & s & pin & i	(4.3 1 2 2) —>	*kark & s & pin & ı*
kumy & s & pın & i	(4.3 1.2.2) —>	*kum & s & pin & i*
aṣpy & s & pin & i	(4.3 1 2 2) —>	*aṣp & s & pin & i*
nob & s & pın & i	(4.3.1.2.2) —>	*nob & s & pin & ı*
tīrky & s & pın & i	(4 3 1 2 2) —>	*tīrk & s & pin & i*
moṛky & s & pin & ı	(4.3.1.2.2) —>	*moṛk & s & pin & i*
omky & s & pın & ı	(4 3.1 2.2) —>	*omk & s & pin & i*
wa.gy & s & pın & ı	(4.3.1.2.2) —>	*wa:g & s & pin & i*

2.27. $\left\{ \begin{matrix} r \\ l \end{matrix} \right\} \longrightarrow \emptyset$ / — & *t*

wīṛ & t	(4.3)	—> *wīt*
swī:l & t	(4.3)	—> *swī t*

2.28. $$t \longrightarrow \underline{t} \;\Big/\; \left\{ \begin{matrix} \underline{r} \\ \text{ŧ} \end{matrix} \right\} \;\&\; \text{—}$$

pīṟ & t	(4 3)	—>	*pīṟ & ṯ*
kaŧ & t	(4 3)	—>	*kaŧ & ṯ*
mu·neŧ & t	(4 3)	—>	*mu:neŧ & ṯ*
twī:ŧ & t	(4 3)	—>	*twī:ŧ & ṯ*

2.29. $$t \longrightarrow t \;\Big/\; \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{ḍ} \\ \text{ṛ} \\ \text{ṭ} \end{matrix} \right\} \;\&\; \text{—}$$

wī:rīḍ & t	(4 3)	—>	*wī:rīḍ & ṭ*
oṛ & t	(4 3)	—>	*oṛ & ṭ*
ke:ṭ & t	(4.3)	—>	*ke:ṭ & ṭ*

2.30. $$\left[\begin{matrix} \left\{ \begin{matrix} \underline{r} \\ \text{ŧ} \end{matrix} \right\} \\ \\ \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{ḍ} \\ \text{ṛ} \\ \text{ṭ} \end{matrix} \right\} \end{matrix} \right] \longrightarrow \varnothing \;\Big/\; \text{—} \;\&\; \left[\begin{matrix} \underline{t} \\ \\ \text{ṭ} \end{matrix} \right]$$

pīṟ & ṯ	(S.2.28)	—>	*pīṯ*
kaŧ & ṯ	(S 2 28)	—>	*kaṯ*
mu:neŧ & ṯ	(S.2 28)	—>	*mu·neṯ*
twī.ŧ & ṯ	(S.2 28)	—>	*twī:ṯ*
wī.rīḍ & ṭ	(S.2.29)	—>	*wī:rīṭ*
oṛ & ṭ	(S.2.29)	—>	*oṭ*
ke:ṭ & ṭ	(S.2.29)	—>	*ke·ṭ*

2.31. $t \longrightarrow k \mid x \,\&\, —$

pux & t	(4.3)	—>	*pux & k*

2.32. $x \longrightarrow \emptyset \mid — \,\&\, k$

pux & k	(S.2.31)	—>	*puk*

2.33. $$\begin{bmatrix} mi\,y \\ p\ddot{o}y \\ sal \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} mi{:} \\ p\ddot{o} \\ sa \end{bmatrix} \Big/ \; — \,\&\, d$$

mi:y & d	(4 3)	—>	*mi:d*
poy & d	(4.3)	—>	*pöd*
sal & d	(4.3)	—>	*sad*

2 34. $r \longrightarrow \emptyset \mid — \,\&\, d$

sö:r & d	(4 3)	—>	*sö:d*
u:r & d	(4.3)	—>	*u:d*

2 35. $$d \longrightarrow \underline{d} \Big/ \left\{ \begin{matrix} \underline{s} \\ n \\ l \end{matrix} \right\} \,\&\, —$$

kīs̲ & d	(4 3)	—>	*kīs̲ & d̲*
i n & d	(4 3)	—>	*i:n & d̲*
tīn & d	(4 3)	—>	*tīn & d̲*
te:l & d	(4 3)	—>	*te:l & d̲*
nīl & d	(4.3)	—>	*nīl & d̲*

2.36. $$\left\{\begin{matrix} \underline{s} \\ n \\ l \end{matrix}\right\} \longrightarrow \emptyset \;/\; — \;\&\; \underline{d}$$

kīs̲ & d̲	(S 2.35)	—>	*kīd̲*
i n & d̲	(S 2.35)	—>	*i:d̲*
tīn & d̲	(S 2.35)	—>	*tīd̲*
te.l & d̲	(S.2 35)	—>	*te:d̲*
nīl & d̲	(S 2.35)	—>	*nīd̲*

2.37. $$d \longrightarrow ḍ \;/\; \left\{\begin{matrix} ṇ \\ l \end{matrix}\right\} \;\&\; —$$

uṇ & d	(4.3)	—>	*uṇ & ḍ*
ni l & d	(4.3)	—>	*ni:ḷ & ḍ*
kiskwīl & d	(4.3)	—>	*kiskwīḷ & ḍ*
pu:ḷ & d	(4 3)	—>	*pu:ḷ & ḍ*

2.38. $$\left[\begin{matrix} ko{:}ṇ \\ po\ r \\ to.r \end{matrix}\right] \longrightarrow \left[\begin{matrix} koṇ \\ por \\ tor \end{matrix}\right] \;/\; — \;\&\; d$$

ko:ṇ & d	(4 3)	—>	*koṇ & d*
po r & d	(4 3)	—>	*por & d*
to:r & d	(4.3)	—>	*tor & d*

2.39 $$d \longrightarrow ḍ \;/\; koṇ \;\&\; —$$

koṇ & d	(S 2.38)	—>	*koṇ & ḍ*

2 40 $$\begin{bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{ḷ} \\ \text{ṇ} \end{Bmatrix} \\ \\ r \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \emptyset \ \Big/ \ — \ \& \begin{bmatrix} \text{ḍ} \\ \\ d \end{bmatrix}$$

ni·ḷ & ḍ	(S.2.37)	—>	*nī·ḍ*
kiskwīḷ & ḍ	(S.2.37)	—>	*kiskwīḍ*
pu.l & ḍ	(S 2 37)	—>	*pu:ḍ*
uṇ & ḍ	(S 2 37)	—>	*uḍ*
koṇ & ḍ	(S 2 39)	—>	*koḍ*
por & d	(S.2.38)	—>	*pod*
tor & d	(S 2 38)	—>	*tod*

2 41. $$\begin{Bmatrix} t \\ ə \\ c \end{Bmatrix} \longrightarrow \emptyset \ / \ — \ \& \ s$$

kwīṛt & s & pin & i	(4.3.1.2.2)	—>	*kwīṛ & s & pin & i*
nent & s & pin & i	(4.3 1.2.2)	—>	*nen & s & pin & i*
aṟṯ & s & pin & i	(4 3.1.2 2)	—>	*aṟ & s & pin & i*
nenə & s & pin & i	(4.3.1 2 2)	—>	*nen & s & pin & i*
püṣoḍə & s & pin & i	(4 3.1.2 2)	—>	*püsoḍ & s & pin & i*
parə & s & pin & i	(4.3.1 2.2)	—>	*par & s & pin & i*
monc & s & pin & i	(4.3.1 2.2)	—>	*mon & s & pin & i*
karc & s & pin & i	(4 3 1 2 2)	—>	*kar & s & pin & i*

2.42. *s* ⟶ *z* / *d* & —

pod & s & pin & i	(4 3 1 2 2) —>	*pod & z & pin & i*
tod & s & pin & i	(4 3 1 2 2) —>	*tod & z & pin & i*
u·d & s & pin & i	(4 3 1 2 2) —>	*u d & z & pin & t*
sö:d & s & pin & i	(4 3.1 2 2) —>	*sö:d & z & pin & i*

2.43. *s* ⟶ *s̱* / *ṯ* & —

pīṯ & s & pin & i	(4 3 1 2 2) —>	*pīṯ & s̱ & pin & i*
mu.neṯ & s & pin & i	(4 3 1 2 2) —>	*mu·neṯ & s̱ & pin & i*
tüṯ & s & pin & i	(4.3 1 2 2) —>	*tüṯ & s̱ & pin & i*
no:ṯ & s & pin & i	(4 3.1 2 2) —>	*no.ṯ & s̱ & pin & i*

2.44. *s* ⟶ *ẕ* / *ḏ* & —

nīḏ & s & pin & i	(4 3 1 2 2) —>	*nīḏ & ẕ & pin & i*
kaḏ & s & pin & i	(4 3 1 2 2) —>	*kaḏ & ẕ & pin & i*
īḏ & s & pin & i	(4.3.1 2 2) —>	*īḏ & ẕ & pin & i*
twī:ḏ & s & pin & i	(4 3 1 2 2) —>	*twī:ḏ & ẕ & pin & i*

2.45. *s* ⟶ *š* / { *t*, *č*, *ı*, *p*, *b*, *f*, *m* } & —

pīt & s & pin & i	(S 2 26 4 3 1.2.2) —>	*pīt & š & pin & i*

e:mo:t & s & pin & i	(S.2.26 4.3.1.2 2)	—> *e:mo:t & š & pin& i*
pint & s & pin & i	(S 2.26 4.3.1.2.2)	—> *pint & š & pin & i*
kı.č & s & pin & i	(S.2.26 4 3.1 2.2)	—> *ki.č & š & pin & i*
ko·č & s & pın & i	(S.2 26 4 3 1 2-2)	—> *ko:č & š & pin & i*
u:č & s & pın & i	(S 2 26 4.3.1 2.2)	—> *u:č & š & pın & ı*
pı· & s & pın & i	(S.2 26 4.3 1.2.2)	—> *pi· & š & pin & i*
aṣp & s & pin & i	(S.2.26 4 3.1 2 2)	—> *aṣp & š & pın & i*
nob & s & pın & i	(S.2.26 4 3 1.2.2)	—> *nob & š & pın & i*
kuf & s & pin & i	(S 2 26 4.3 1 2.2)	—> *kuf & š & pin & i*
kum & s & pin & i	(S 2 26 4.3 1.2.2)	—> *kum & š & pin & i*

2 46. $s \longrightarrow \check{z} \;/\; \left\{ \begin{matrix} d \\ j \end{matrix} \right\} \& —$

ked & s & ɼin & i	(S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2)	—> *ked & ž & pin & i*

ni d & s & pin & í	(S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2)	—>	*ni:d & ž & pin & i*
ud & s & pın & i	(S 2.26 4 3 1 2 2)	—>	*ud & ž & pin & ı*
oǰ & s & pin & ı	(S.2.26 4 3.1 2.2)	—>	*oǰ & ž & pin & i*
pu:ǰ & s & pin & i	(S.2.26 4 3.1.2.2)	—>	*pu:ǰ & ž & pin & i*

2 47. $s \longrightarrow ṣ \; / \; \left\{ \begin{matrix} ṭ \\ k \\ g \\ x \end{matrix} \right\} \& \text{—}$

ot & s & pın & i	[4.3.1.2.2]	—>	*ot & ṣ & pın & ı*
poṭ & s & pin & i	[4.3 1.2.2]	—>	*poṭ & ṣ & pın & i*
a foṭ & s & pin & ı	[4.3.1.2.2]	—>	*a foṭ & ṣ & pın & i*
wī·rīt & s & pin & i	[4.3.1.2.2]	—>	*wī rīt & s & pin & i*
nwī:ṭ & s & pin & ı	(S.2 26 4.3.1 2 2)	—>	*nwī:ṭ & ṣ & pin & i*
ni ṭ & s & pin &i	(S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2)	—>	*ni ṭ & ṣ & pin & i*
puk & s & pin & ı	[4.3.1.2.2]	—>	*puk & ṣ & pın & i*
kark & s & pin & i	(S·26 4 3.1.2.2)	—>	*kark & s & pin & i*
tīrk & s & pin & i	(S.2.26 4.3.1.2 2)	—>	*tīrk & ṣ & pin & i*

moṛk & s & pin & i	(S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2)	—>	*moṛk & ṣ & pin & i*
omk & s & pin & i	(S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2)	—>	*omk & ṣ & pin & i*
wa:g & s & pin & i	(S.2 26 4.3.1.2.2)	—>	*wa:g & ṣ & pin & i*

2.48. $s \longrightarrow ẓ \;/\; ḍ\;\&\;—$

nī·ḍ & s & pin & i	[4.3.1.2.2]	—>	*ni:ḍ & ẓ & pin & i*
kwīḍ & s & pin & i	[4.3.1.2.2]	—>	*kwīḍ&ẓ&pin&i*
teškwīḍ&s&pin&i	[4.3.1.2.2]	—>	*teškwīḍ&ẓ&pin&i*
koḍ&s&pin&i	(S.2.40 4.3.1.2.2)	—>	*koḍ&ẓ&pin&i*

2 49. $\begin{bmatrix} d \\ ṯ \\ ḏ \\ t \\ č \\ d \\ ǰ \\ ṭ \\ ḍ \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \emptyset \;\Big/\; —\;\&\; \begin{bmatrix} z \\ s̱ \\ ẕ \\ š \\ ž \\ ṣ \\ ẓ \end{bmatrix}$

pod & z & pin & i	[S.2.42]	—>	*po&z&pin&i*
tod&z&pin&i	[S.2.42]	—>	*to&z&pin&i*
u:d&z&pin&i	[S.2.42]	—>	*u:&z&pin&i*
sö:d&z&pin&i	[S.2.42]	—>	*sö:&z&pin&i*

pīṯ & s̱ & pin & i	(S.2.43)	—>	*pī & s̱ & pin & i*
mu:neṯ & s̱ & pin & i	(S.2.43)	—>	*mu:ne & s̱ & pin & i*
tüṯ & s̱ & pin & i	(S.2.43)	—>	*tü & s̱ & pin & i*
no:ṯ & s̱ & pin & i	(S.2.43)	—>	*nọ: & s̱ & pin & i*
nīḏ & ẕ & pin & i	(S.2.44)	—>	*nī & ẕ & pin & i*
kaḏ & ẕ & pin & i	(S.2.44)	—>	*ka & ẕ & pin & i*
īḏ & ẕ & pin & i	(S.2.44)	—>	*ī & ẕ & pin & i*
twī:ḏ & ẕ & pin & i	(S.2.44)	—>	*twī: & ẕ & pin & i*
pīt & š & pin & i	(S.2.45)	—>	*pī & š & pin & i*
e:mo:t & š & pin & i	(S.2.45)	—>	*e:mo: & š & pin & i*
pint & š & pin & i	(S.2.45)	—>	*pīn & š & pin & i*
ki:č & š & pin & i	(S.2.45)	—>	*ki: & š & pin & i*
ko:č & š & pin & i	(S.245)	—>	*ko: & š & pin & i*
u:č & š & pin & i	(S.2.45)	—>	*u· & š & pin & i*
ked & ž & pin & i	(S.2.46)	—>	*ke & ž & pin & i*
ni:d & ž & pin & i	(S.2.46)	—>	*ni: & ž & pin & i*
ud & ž & pin & i	(S.2.46)	—>	*u & ž & pin & i*
oǰ & ž & pin & i	(S.2 46)	—>	*o & ž & pin & i*
pu:ǰ & ž & pin & i	(S.2.46)	—>	*pu: & ž & pin & i*
oṭ & ṣ & pin & i	(S.2.47)	—>	*o & ṣ & pin & i*
pot & ṣ & pin & i	(S.2.47)	—>	*po & ṣ & pin & i*
a:ʃoṭ & ṣ & pin & i	(S.2.47)	—>	*a:ʃo & ṣ & pin & i*
wī:rīṭ & ṣ & pin & i	(S.2.47)	—>	*wī:rī & ṣ & pin & i*

nwī:ṭ & ṣ & pin & i	(S.2.47)	—>	*nwī: & ṣ & pin &*
ni:ṭ & ṣ & pin & i	(S.2.47)	—>	*ni: & ṣ & pin & i*
ni:ḍ & ẓ & pin & i	(S.2.48)	—>	*nī: & ẓ & pin & i*
kwīḍ & ẓ & pin & i	(S.2.48)	—>	*kwī & ẓ & pin & i*
teškwīḍ & ẓ & pin & i	(S.2.48)	—>	*teškwī & ẓ & pin & i*
koḍ & ẓ & pin & i	(S.2.48)	—>	*ko & ẓ & pin & i*

2.50 $\{ \textit{sib} \} + t \longrightarrow \check{c}$

pi:š & t & i	(4.18.3.1)	—>	*pi:č & i*
e:mo:š & t & i	(4.18.3.1)	—>	*e:mo:č & i*
püṣoḍs & t & i	(4.18.3.1)	—>	*püṣoḍč & i*
pars & t & i	(4.18.3.1)	—>	*parč & i*

2.51. $ak \longrightarrow a{:}k \;/\; \left\{ \begin{array}{c} mu \\ w\bar{\imath}nbo \end{array} \right\} \;\&\; —$

mu & ak	(3.6.3.1)	—>	*mu & a:k*
wīnbo & ak	(3.6.9.2)	—>	*wīnbo & a:k*

2.52. $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} u \\ o \end{array} \right\} \longrightarrow \emptyset \;/\; — \;\&\; a{:}$

mu & a:k	(S.2.51)	—>	*ma:k*
wīnbo & a:k	(S.2.51)	—>	*wīnba:k*

2.53. $o \longrightarrow \emptyset \,/\, \text{—} \,\&\, V$

V stands for vowels

po:r & o & en & i	(4.5.1.1)	—>	*po:r & en & i*
po:r & o & īy & i	(4.5.1.1)	—>	*po:r & īy & i*
nīl & o & im & i	(4.5.1.1)	—>	*nīl & im & i*
nīl & o & um & i	(4.5.1.1)	—>	*nīl & um & i*
uṇ & o & en & i	(4.18.1.5)	—>	*uṇ & en & i*
pod & kīs̱ & o & en & i	(4.18.1.5)	—>	*pod & kīs̱ & en & i*
pod & kīs̱ & o & īy & i	(4.18.3.1)	—>	*pod & kīs̱ & īy & i*
pod & kīs̱ & o & um &i	(4.18 1.13)	—>	*pod & kīs̱ & um & i*

2.54. $$\begin{bmatrix} po{:}r \\ to{:}r \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} po{:} \\ to{:} \end{bmatrix} \Big/ \text{—} \,\&\, \#$$

# *po:r* #	—>	# *po:* #
# *to:r* #	—>	# *to:* #

3

Nouns

3.0. Nouns are those which do not take tense suffixes but do take or are capable of taking case suffixes.

3.1. *Gender–Number suffixes*

In Toda there is no gender distinction. Toda has completely lost the gender distinction and in this language *ae* means both 'that person' and 'that thing' and the corresponding plural *aea:m* means both 'those persons' and 'those things'. Toda has only number distinction in pronouns and personal distinction in the finite verbs. However we can recognize masculine and feminine gender in certain nouns in the morphological level.

3.1.1. *Masculine Singular*

$\left\{ -n \right\}$

∞ -*n*, ∞ -*o:ṭ*, ∞ -*f*, ∞ -*∅*

3.1.1.1. ∞ -*n* occurs after these stems

Ex.	*konoḍy-n*	'Canarese man'
	paṛ-n	'Pariah caste man'
	kumo:ṛ-n	'potter'
	wokīl-n	'Vakkaliga caste man'
	toṭxī-n	'goldsmith'
	sakli-n	'cobbler'
	orf-n	'Brahmin' (one sect of Baḍaga
	tulk-n	'muslim man'
	osx-n	'washer man'
	koraf-n	'man of Korva caste'
	tocxī-n	'carpenter'
	pal-n	'Valaiyan'
	poṇi-n	'Paniya tribe'
	kasf-n	'Kasaba tribe'
	kocxo:ṛ-n	'brass worker'
	koṭyxo:ṛ-n	'clever person'
	axexo:ṛ-n	'enemy'
	kwalyxo:ṛ-n	'murderer'
	mo:dixa-n	'man of low caste'
	moṇyxo:ṛ-n	'Govt. appointed man'

kwaltxo:ṛ–n				'person who does building work'
pilyxo:ṛ–n				'sorcerer'
kofḍ–n	(2.17)	—>	*kofḍṇ*	'man of Gowda caste'
wīḍ–n	(2.17)	—>	*wīḍṇ*	'name of a caste'
koḷn	(2.17)	—>	*koḷṇ*	'thief'
no:ṣ–n	(2.18)	—>	*no:ṣṇ*	'barber'
pe:ṭ–n	(2.17)	—>	*pe:ṭṇ*	'name of caste'
pīṭ–n	(2.17)	—>	*pīṭṇ*	'foolish fellow'
eṭ–n	(2.17)	—>	*eṭṇ*	'shepherd'

3.1.1.2. ∞ *–o:ṭ* occurs after these stems

Ex. *kel–o:ṭ*	'old man'
wīṣ–o:ṭ	'dairy man'
per–o:ṭ	'ordinary person'
mo:r–o:ṭ	'man of *melga:ṣ* clan'
poy–o:ṭ	'male affinal relative'
kamaso:ṛ–o:ṭ	'legendary Todas'
tōw–o:ṭ	'diviner'
tu:θ–o:ṭ	'messenger'
e:f–o:ṭ	'servant'
moḏ–o:ṭ	'man of same village'

3.1.1.3 ∞ *–f* occurs after the stem

Ex. *kwī:–f*	'Kota tribe'

3.1.1.4. ∞ – ∅ occurs after these stems

Ex. *kurub-∅*	—>	*kurub*	'Kurumba tribe'
erṭ-∅	—>	*erṭ*	'Irula tribe'
ars-∅	—>	*ars*	'whiteman, European'
siṭy-∅	—>	*siṭy*	'man of Chettiar caste'
twī:ṭy-∅	—>	*twī:ṭy*	'scavanger'
wīḍe:r-∅	—>	*wīḍe:r*	'man of Udaiyar caste'

3.1.2. *Feminine Singular*

{ -*č* }

∞ – *č* ∞ – *oč* ∞ – *ṭy* ∞ – *xiṭy* ∞ -*i*

3.1.2.1. ∞ – *č* occur after these stems

Ex. *kurub-č*	'Kurumba woman'
erṭ-č	'Irula woman'
eṭ-č	'woman of shepherd'
poṇi-č	'Paniya woman'
wokīl-č	'Vakkaliga woman'
pe:ṭ-č	'woman of *pe:ṭṇ*'
konoḍy-č	'Canarese woman'
paṛ-č	'Pariah woman'
siṭy-č	'woman of Chettiar caste'
sakli-č	'woman of cobbler'
tulk-č	'Muslim woman'
wīḍ-č	'woman of *wiḍṇ* caste'

3.1.2.2. ∞ - *oč* occurs after this stem

Ex. *kel-oč* 'old woman'

3.1.2.3. ∞ -*xīty* occurs after this stem

Ex. *no:ṣ-xīty*	'barber woman'

3.1.2.4. ∞ - *ty* occurs after these stems

Ex. *osx-ty*	'washer woman'
kwī:-ty	'woman of Kota tribe'
kasf-ty	'woman of Kasaba tribe'
wīrxī-ty	'husband's brother's wife'
ō:rf-ty	'Brahmin woman lower sect of Badaga)'
maḏ-ty	'non-Toda woman'
ma:dixa-ty	'woman of lower caste'

3.1.2.5. ∞ - *i* occurs after the stem

Ex. *kiṟiṣtn-i*	'Christian woman'

3.1.3. *Non-neuter*

{ *-ry* }

3.1.3.1. ~ *-ry* occurs after the stem *o:-*

Ex. *o:-ry*	'who'

3.1.4. *Number suffixes*

In Toda, first, second and reflexive pronouns distinguish only number.

Ex. *o:n*	'I'
om	'we (incl.)'
em	'we (excl.)'

ni:	'you (sg.)'
nīm	'you (pl.)'
to:n	'oneself'
tam	'themselves'

3.1.4.1. *Singular*

{ -*n* }

∞ -*n*, ∞ -*θ*, ∞ -∅

3.1.4.1.1. ∞ -*θ* occurs after the demonstrative base *a*-

Ex. *a-θ* 'he / she / it–that'

3.1.4.1.2. ∞ -∅ occurs after the second person stem

Ex. *ni:-∅ —> ni:* 'you (sg.)'

3.1.4.1.3. ∞ -*n* occurs elsewhere

Ex.	*o:-n*	'I'
	e-n-a:l —> ena:l	'by me'
	nī-n-a:l —> nīna:l	'by you'
	to:-n	'oneself'

3.1.4.2. *Plural*

{ -*m* }

∞ -*m*, ∞ -*a:m*

3.1.4.2.1. ∞ -*m* occurs after the first person (both incluive and exclusive) and second person and rsflexive stems.

Ex. *o–m*	'we (incl.)'
e–m	'we (excl.)'
nī–m	'you (pl.)'
ta–m	'themselves'

3.1.4.2.2. *Common plural*

∞ – *a:m* occurs elsewhere

Ex. *aθ-a:m*	'they / those'
o:ṭ–a:m	'Toda men'
tojmox-a:m	'Toda women'
mox–a:m	'boys'
ku:x–a:m	'girls'
pö:ṛ–a:m	'Tamilians'
ma:f–a:m	'Badagas'
kwī:f–a:m	'Kotas'
püṣy-a:m	'tigers'
pe:ṭ–a:m	'fingers'
īr–a:m	'buffaloes'
me:ṇ-a:m	'tress'
pöṭk a:m	'lamps'

3 2. *Cases*

3.2.1 *Inflexional increments*

{ *-t-* }

∞ *-n-*, ∞ *-t-*

3.2.1.1. ∞ *-n-* occurs after third person pronoun and after nouns and before instrumental case suffix *-a:l*.

Ex. *ae-n-a:l* 'by that-it'

ie-n-a:l 'by this-it'

ak ku:x-n-a:l enk upum kaṣṭm īyi

'I have problems because of her'

3.2.1.2. ∞*-t-* occurs after the stems ending in *-m* and before dative and locative case suffixes.

Ex. *sonm-t-k* (2.7) —> *Sontk* 'to people'

ku:ḍm-t-k (2.7) —> *ku:ḍtk* 'to the meeting'

no:ym-t-k (2.7) —> *no:ytk* 'to the assembly'

kīnm-t-k (2.7) —> *kīntk* 'to cup'

pojo:rm-t-k (2.7) —> *pojo:rtk* 'to Ootacamund'

me:ṇ-t-k —> *me:ṇtk* 'to the tree'

me:ṇ-t-ṣ —> *me:ṇ-tṣ* 'in the tree'

3.2.2. *Case suffixes*

Cases are ten in number

3.2.2.1. *Accusative*

{ *-n* }

∼ *-n*

∼ *-n* occurs after all stems

Ex. *wīṛfed-n* 'younger brother (obj.)'

o:ṭ-n (2.17) —> *o:ṭn* 'Toda man (obj.)'

ku:x–n paṭ	'catch the girl'
koṟ–n pe:ṭ	'drive the calf'
o:n īne:ṟ nīm–n koẓpini	'I saw you yesterday'
o:n īr–n pi:škpini	'I kill buffalo'
aə en wīṟfed–n pīsti	'He beats my younger brother'

3.2.2.2. *Instrumental*

{ *–a:l* }

∞ *–a:l*, *–id*, ∞ *–a:ṟ*, ∞ *–iṭ*

∞ *–a:ṟ* occurs after noun stems belonging to human body parts.

Ex. *koṉ–a:ṟ*	'with eye'
kīfy–a:ṟ	'with ear'
koy–a:ṟ	'with hand'
po:y–a:ṟ	'with mouth'
o:n koṉ–a:ṟ koẓpini	'I saw with eye'
o:n kīfy–a:ṟ ke:ṭkin	'I hear with ear'
o:n po:y–a:ṟ af:oṟpini	'I talk with mouth'
o:n koy–a:ṟ kelc kīspini	'I did work with hand'

∞ *–iṭ* occurs after noun stems belonging to inanimate class (other than the above).

Ex. *mošt–iṭ*	'with an axe'
mod–iṭ	'with chuning rod'
tu:ry–iṭ	'with knife'

o:n mošt-iṭ me:ṇ kwartpini 'I cut the tree with axe'

ø:n mod-iṭ po:ṣ kaṛøpini 'I churn milk with churning rod'

o:n tu:ry-iṭ peṛx kwartpini 'I cut the fuel with knife'

∞ *-a:l* occurs elsewhere and it is in free variation with *-id*.

Ex. *om-a:l*
om-id 'by us'

nīn-a:l
nīn-id 'by you'

en-a:l
en-id 'by me'

aø-ṇ-a:l 'by that'

iø-n-al 'by this'

ak ku:x-n-a:l enk upum kaṣṭm īyi

ak ku:x-id enk upum kaṣṭm īyi
'I have troubles because of that girl'

3.2.2.3. *Sociative*

{ *-poḏy* }

~ *-poḏy*, *-wīṛ*

~ *-poḏy* occurs after all stems and it is in free variation with *-wīṛ*.

Ex. *en-poḏy* 'with me'
en-wīṛ

nīn-poḏy 'with you'
nīn-wiṛ

kurub-pody *kurub-wīṛ*	'with Kurumba tribe'
nīn-pody o:n paškin *nīn-wīṛ o:n paškin*	'I come with you'
piṭyxe:n-wīṛ o:n makolk podpini	'I will come with Pelikan to-morrow'
īr-pody koṟ padti	'calf comes with buffalo'
pö:ṛ-wīṛ fö:ṛ	'Tamilians with Tamilians'
ars-wīṛ ars	'Europeans with Europeans'
tojmox-wīṛ a:foṛoṭi	'Do not talk with Toda woman'
nīn-pody tīnkin	'I eat with you'

3.2.2.4. *Dative*

$\{ -k \}$

∼ -k

∼-*k* occurs after all stems

Ex. *en-k*	'to me'
nīn-k	'to you'
a:ṣ-k	'to house'
poṭy-k	'to dairy'
ko:tfoy-k	'to wife'
mod-k	'to Toda mund'

sonm-t-k (2.7) —> *sontk* 'to people'

no:ym-t-k (2.7) —> *no:ytk* 'to the assembly'

kīnm-t-k	(2.7)	—>	*kīntk*	'to cup'
kö:ṟ-k	(2.8)	—>	*kö:ṯk*	'to lake'

ae īne:ṟ to:ṟo: rmoḏ-k pi:či
'He went to Taranad mund yesterday'

nīn-k in pe:k? 'What do you want?'

ni: etfīn u:r-k pi:ti 'When did you go home'

en-k mu:ḏ ku:x wīḍy 'I have three daughters'

Dative is also used in the locative and purposive sense in Toda language.[1]

ekaṟfotk 'in the evening'

o:n pu:txuṭy poṭyk poṣpini 'I kept cloak in the box'

en afk po:ṣ e:s pozpini
'I have brought milk for my mother'

3.2.2.5. *Ablative*

{ -*ṣn* }

~-*ṣn*

~-*ṣn* occurs after all the stems

1. Dative is used in locative sense in Sangam Tamil literature also.

Kiḷaiyari na:ṉar kiḷaṅku maṉaṟ ki:nṟa
muḷaiyo: ranna muḷḷeyiṟṟut tuvarva:y (Akam, 212)

In Malayalam language also dative is used in the locative, genitive and purposive sense.

Gundert, A; *Malayala Bhasavyakaranam* p. 153–157, 1868

Ex. *aṭ-ṣn*	'from there'
iṭ-ṣn	'from here'
eṭ-ṣn?	'from where?'
moḍ-ṣn	'from the mund'
kwī:ko:l-ṣn	'from Kota village'

pojo:rm-t-ṣn (2.7) —> *pojo:rt-ṣn* 'from Ootacamund'

i:škity-ṣn (2.14) —> *i:škity-šn* 'from *Ka:ṣ* mund'

koce:ry-ṣn (2.14) —> *koce:ry-šn* 'from court'

uṭ-ṣn (2.15,17) —> *uṭ-ṣṇ* 'from inside'

ko:ṛeöw-ṣn (2.15,17) —> *ko:ṛeöw-ṣṇ* 'from *Niṛy* mund'

o:n meḷga:ṣ moḍ-ṣn pozpini 'I came from Garden mund'

o:n pojo:rt-ṣn pozpini 'I came from Ootacamund'

3.2 2.6. *Genitive*

{ *-n* }

~ *-n*

Ex. *nīn-n a:ṣ* (2.18) —> *nīn a:ṣ* 'your house'

en-n a:ṣ (2 18) —> *en a:ṣ* 'my house'

nīn-n īr (2.18) —> *nīn īr* 'your buffalo'

en o:ṭ-n (2.17) —> *en o:ṭṇ* 'my husband's'

en wīṛfed-n o:ṭ 'my younger sister's husband'

en ok-n o:ṭ 'my elder sister's husband'

ku:x-n o:ṭ	'daughter's husband'
ku:x-n-mox	'daughter's son'
en o:ṭṇ dan ok-n o:ṭ	'my husband's elder sister's husband'

3.2.2.7. *Locative*

{ -ṣ }

∞ -ṣ ∞ -kīḍṣ

∞ *kīḍṣ* occurs after animate nouns

Ex. *en-kīḍṣ*	'with me'
an-kīḍṣ	'with him'
ku:x-kīḍṣ	'with girl'
an-kīḍṣ poṇm o:ṛey	'He has no money'
an-kīḍṣ upum īr wīḍy	'He has more buffaloes'
ak ku:x-kīḍṣ upum pu:txuṭy wīḍy	'That girl has more cloaks'
koṛ-kīḍṣ a:py upum wīḍy	'There is much cowdung near the calf'

∞ -ṣ occurs elsewhere

Ex. *me:ṇ-t-ṣ —> me:ṇtṣ*	'in the tree'
Kaštal-ṣ	'in the darkness'
ekaṛfot-ṣ	'in the evening'
em u:ṛ-ṣ neln upum wīḍy	'we have more lands in our village'

mu:ḏ poṭy-ṣ	(2.14) —>	*mu:ḏ poṭyš* 'in three dairies'
kulo:y-ṣ	(2.14) —>	*kulo:yš* 'in the tap'
aḍy-ṣ	(2.14) —>	*aḍyš* 'in the pot'
po:y-ṣ	(2.14) —>	*po:yš* 'in the mouth'
pax uṭ-ṣ	(2.15) —>	*pax uṭṣ* 'in the midst of cloud'
mu:ḏ twī:ṣ	(2.16) ——	*mu:ḏ twī:ẓ* 'in three pens'

3.2 2.8. *Purposive*

{ *-go:y* }

~ *-go:y*

~ *-go:y* occurs after all stems

Ex. *en-go:y*	'for my sake'
nīn-go:y	'for your sake'
an-go:y	'for his / her sake'
en-go:y i kelc kīy	'Do this work for my sake'
nīn-goy i:nk po:pini	'I came here for your sake'
ka:wxwītṇ em-go:y i kelc kīstr̃	'Kawkuttan works for us'
nīn-go:y o:n am moḏk pi:špini	'I went to that mund for your sake'
an-go:y i kelc kīspini	'I did this work for his sake'

3.2.2.9. *Vocative*

{ *-a:* }

∞ *-a:* ∞ *-ya:* ∞ *-∅*

∞ *-a:* occurs after these stems.

Ex. *oṇ —> oṇ-a:*		'oh my elder brother'
piaf —> piaf-a:		'oh my grand mother'
eyi:-a (2.19) *—> eya:*		'oh my father'
okn-a (2.19) *—> oka:*		'oh my elder sister'

∞ *-ya:* occurs after these stems

Ex. *mox*	*mox-ya:*	'oh son'
ku:x	*ku:x-ya:*	'oh daughter'
o:ṭ	*o:ṭ-ya:*	'oh husband'
tojmox	*tojmax-ya:*	'oh wife'

∞ *-∅* occurs elsewhere

Ex. *mutna:ṣ-∅*	*mutna:ṣ*	'oh Mutnas'
to:j-∅	*to:j*	'oh Taj'
ka:wxwīṭn-∅	*ka:wxwīṭn*	'oh Kawkuttan'
artofīn-∅	*artofīn*	'oh Artapin'
tōwbnīṣ-∅	*tōwbnīṣ*	'oh tebnis'
neṣfiṭy-∅	*neṣfiṭy*	'oh Nespily'

3.3. *Stem classification*

All those stems which can take gender-number suffixes belong to this class and they are classified on the basis of the

masculine suffix they take. Each main class is further subdivided on the basis of feminine suffixes they take.

3.3.1. Those stems which take masculine suffiix *-n* belong to this class.

Ex. *konoḍy-n*	'Canarese man'
paṟ-n	'man of Pariah caste'
wokīl-n	'man of Vakkaliga'
tulk-n	'Muslim man'
toṭxī-n	'Goldsmith'
osx-n	'Washerman'
kasf-n	'Kasaba tribe'
no:ṣ-n (2.17) —> *no:ṣṇ*	'Barber'

3.3.1.1. Those stems which take *-č* as feminine suffix.

Ex. *konoḍy-č*	'Canarese woman'
paṟ-č	'woman of Pariah caste'
wokīl-č	'woman of Vakkaliga caste'
tulk-č	'Muslim woman'
poṇi-č	'Paniya tribe'
kofḍ-č	'woman of Gowda caste'
wīḍ-č	'woman of *wīḍn* caste'
pe:ṭ-č	'woman of *pe:ṭṇ*'
eṭ-č	'shepherd woman'

3.3.1.2. Those which take *-ty* as feminine suffix.

Ex. *toṭxī-ty*	'woman of Goldsmith'
o:rf-ty	'Brahmin woman (one sect of Badaga)

osx-ty	'Washerwoman'
mo:dixa-ty	'woman of *mo:dixan*'
kasf-ty	'woman of Kasaba tribe'

3.3.1.3. Those which take *-xīty* as feminine suffiix.

Ex. *no:ṣ-xīty* 'barber woman'

3.3.2. Those stems which take *-o:ṭ* as masculine suffiix belong to this class.

Ex. *kel-o:ṭ* 'old man'

3.3.2.1. Those which take *-oč* as feminine suffix.

Ex. *kel-oč* 'old woman'

3.3.3. Those which take *-f* as masculine suffix belong to this class

Ex. *kwī:-f* 'Kota man'

3.3.3.1. Those which take *-ty* as feminine suffix

Ex. *kwī:-ty* 'Kota woman'

3.3.4. Those which take *-ø* as masculine suffix belong to this class.

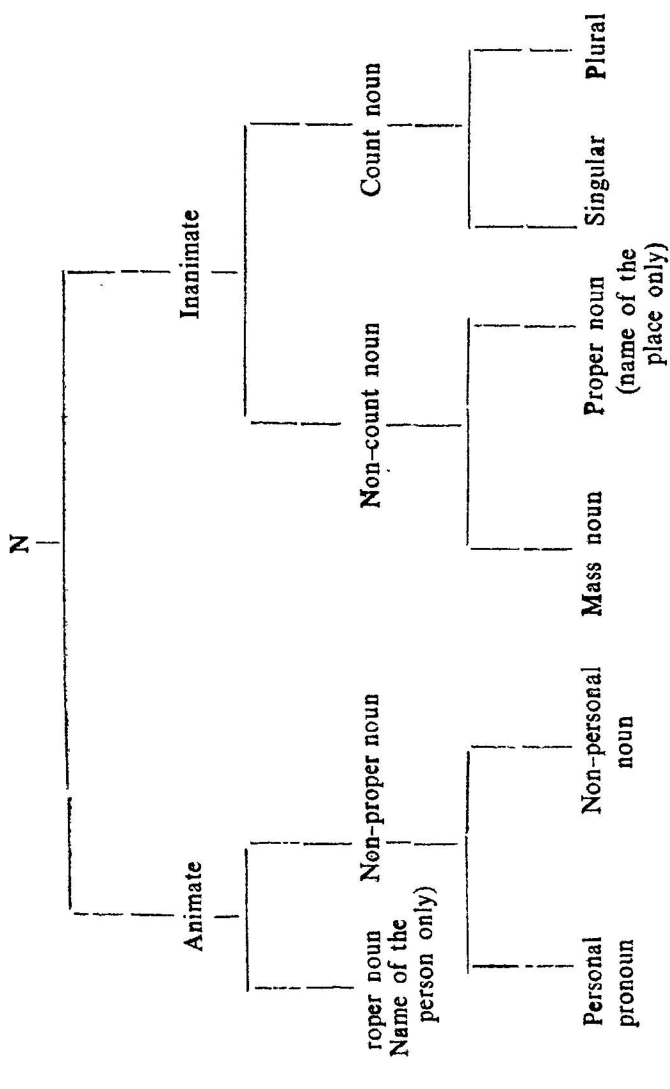
Ex. *kurub-ø*	—> *kurub*	'Kurumba tribe'
erṭ-ø	—> *erṭ*	'Irula tribe'
siṭy-ø	—> *siṭy*	'Chettiar'
twī:ṭy-ø	—> *twī:ṭy*	'scavenger'
wīḍe:r-ø	—> *wīḍe:r*	'man of Udaiyar caste'

3.3.4.1. Those which take *-č* as feminine suffix

Ex. *kurub-č*	'woman of Kurumba tribe'
erṭ-č	'woman of Irula tribe'
siṭy-č	'Chettiar woman'
twī:ty-č	'scavenger womam'
wīḍe:r-č	'woman of Udaiyar caste'

3.4. Inherent noun

The inherent nouns in Toda can be classified into two main classes, animate and inanimate. This classification is necessitated because certain nouns take *-kīḍṣ* as the locative case sign and certain others do not. Those which take *-kīḍṣ* are classified here as animate and the rest inanimate.


N
Inanimate
Count noun
Singular
Plural
Non-count noun
Mass noun
Proper noun (name of the place only)
Animate
roper noun Name of the person only)
Non-proper noun
Personal pronoun
Non-personal noun

3.4.1. *Animate nouns*

Animate nouns are of two types. They are 1) Proper nouns and 2) Non-proper nouns. Non-proper nouns are further classified into personal nouns and non-personal nouns.

3.4.1.1. *Proper nouns*

Proper nouns are those which denote the names of person and they do not take plural suffix.

Ex.	*töwbnīṣ*	*pi:ḷdynīṣ*
	artofīn	*tüṭcwī:nīṣ*
	erci:θy	*eṛcigyfu:f*
	īṛkwīṛfīn	*köbu:fiṭy*
	koṛofxwīṭṇ	*maṣno:fiṭy*
	kwīṭṇaṣ	*neṣfiṭy*
	mu:nbo:wxwīṭṇ	*pīnswīḷe:my*
	nö:ṛo:ngwī:ṛ	

3.4.1.2. *Non-proper nouns*

As already mentioned non-proper nouns are classified into 1) personai pronouns 2) non-personal nouns.

3.4.1.2.1. *Personal pronouns*

Ex.	*o:n*	'I'
	om	'we (incl.)'
	em	'we (excl.)'
	ni:	'you (sg.)'

nīm	'you (pl.)'
aθ	'he / she / it'
aθa:m	'they / those'

3.4.1.2.2. Non-personal nouns are those which can take attributes.

Ex. *tojmox*	'Toda woman'
mox	'boy'
ku:x	'girl'
kurub	'Kurumba tribe'
ma:f	'Badaga man'
ars	'king'
erḷ	'Irula'
kopaṇ	'butterfly'
kō:g	'barking deer'
ku:ḷy	'stud bull'
kwaṭy	'cat'
īr	'buffalo'
paṣy	'lizard'
ka:k	'crow'
katy	'ass'
püṣy	'tiger'
koṛ	'buffalo calf'

3.4 2. *Inanimate nouns*

Inanimate nouns can be classified into 1. non-count nouns and 2. count nouns. Non-count nouns are further classified into 1. mass noun and 2. proper noun.

Count noun takes or is capable of taking the common plural marker *-a:m* whereas proper noun (name of a place) and mass noun do not.

3.4.2.1. Proper nouns are those which denote the name of the place and do not take plural suffix.

Ex.	*moysu:r*	'Mysore'
	kwa:ymŭtu:r	'Coimbatore'
	mĭ:tpa:w	'Mettupalayam'
	ku:ḷu:r	'Gudalur'
	kuḷpe:ṭxö:ṟ	'Gundulpet'
	nojĭrxuḍy	'Nanjangod'
	ka:ṟmuṛ	'Karamadai'
	kalikwa:ṭ	'Calicut'
	sotymogolm	'Sathiamangalam'
	no:xu:r	'Nagore'
	maθra:č	'Madras'

3.4.2.2. Mass nouns are those which also cannot take plural suffix.

Ex.	*nĭy*	'ghee'
	ni:r	'water'
	po:ṣ	'milk'
	eṇo:y	'oil'
	ašky	'rice'

3.4.2.3. Inanimate count nouns are those which are capable of taking common plural marker *-a:m*.

Ex.	*me:ṇ*	*me:ṇ-a:m*	'trees'

kaṣ	*kaṣ–a:m*	'stones'
kīḍf	*kīḍf-a:m*	'shrubs'
puxury	*puxury–a:m*	'Toda flutes'
pu:txuṭy	*pu:txuṭy–a:m*	'cloaks'
uḷy	*uḷy–a:m*	'branding irons'
toṛy	*toṛy–a:m*	'poles used at funeral'

3.5. Personal pronouns

There are only two personal pronouns, first and second persons and they have number distinction viz. singular and plural. The third person is expressed by the demonstrative pronouns In third person unlike Tamil etc. there is no gender distinction but only singular and plural number. The first person plural has two forms, an exclusive and inclusive.

3.5.1. *First person*

{ *o:-* }

∞ *o:–* ∞ *e–*

3.5.1.1. ∞ *e–* occurs before singular suffix *–n* followed by either case suffixes or nouns.

Ex.	*e-n-a:l*	'by me'
	e-n-k	'to me'
	e-n-poḍy	'with me'
	e-n-go:y	'for my sake'
	e-n-kīḍṣ	'with me'
	e-n-a:ṣ	'my house'

3.5.1.2. ∞ *o:–* occurs before singular suffix *-n*

Ex. *o:-n podpini* 'I come'

o:-n pi:pini 'I go'

3.5.1.3. *First person inclusive*

{ *o–* }

∞ *o–*

3.5.1.3.1 ∞ *o–* occurs before plural suffix *–m*

Ex. *o–m–k*	'to us'
o–m–a:l	'by us'
o–m–go:y	'for oursake'
o–m podpimi	'we come (incl.)'

3.5.1.4. *First person exclusive*

{ *e–* }

∞ *e–*

3.5.1.4.1. ∞ *e–* occurs before plural suffix *–m*

Ex. *e–m–n*	us (object.)
e–m–a:l	'by us'
e–m–k	'to us'
e–m–pody	'with us'
e–m podpumi	'we come (excl)'

3.5.2. *Second person*

{ *ni:* }

∞ *ni:*, ∞ *nī-*

3.5.2.1. ∞ *nī-* occurs before singular and plural suffixes *-n* and *m* followed by either case suffixes or nouns.

Ex. *nī-n-k*	'to you'
nī-n-a:l	'by you'
*nī-n-po*d̲*y*	'with you'
*nī-n a:*s̲	'your house'
nī-m-n	'you (obj.)'
nī-m-a:l	'by you'
nī-m-k	'to you'
nī-m kelc kīstši	'you do work'

3.5.2.2. ∞ *ni:* occurs bebore -ø

Ex. *ni:-ø —> ni:*	'you (Sg.)'
*ni: twī:*r̲ *tīḍpi*	'you eat food'
*ni: po:*s̲ *uḍpi*	'you drink milk'

3.5.3. *Demonstrative pronoun*

3.5.3.1. *Distant Demonstrative base*

{ *a-* }

~*a-*

3.5.3.1.1. *∼a–*

Ex. *a–θ* ‘that–he / she / it’

a–θa:m ‘that–they / those’

3.5.3.2. *Proximate Demonstrative base*

{ *i–* }

∼i–

3.5.3.2.1. *∼i–*

Ex. *i–θ* ‘this–he / she / it’

i–θa:m ‘this–they / those’

3.5.4. *Interrogative pronoun*

{ *o:–* }

∞ *o:–* ∞ *e:–*

3.5.4.1. ∞ *o:–* occurs before non–neuter suffix *–ry*

Ex. *o:ry* ‘who’

3.5.4.2. ∞ *e:* occurs before genderless suffix *–θ*

Ex. *e:–θ* ‘which’

3.5.5. *Universal pronoun*

Universal pronoun consists of three elements, viz interrogative base, genderless suffix and non-neuter suffix and universal clitic *-um*.

Inter. base + { Non-neuter suffix / Genderless suffix } + *um*

Ex. *o:-ry-um* —> *o:ryum* 'any body'

e:-θ-um —> *e:θum* 'any thing'

3.5.6. *Indefinite pronoun*

Indefinite pronoun consists of three elements viz interrogative base, non-neuter, non-human suffix and indefinite clitic *-isky*

Inter. base + { Non-neuter suffix / Non-human suffix } + *isky*

Ex. *o:r-isky* —> *o:risky* 'somebody'

i-n-isky —> *inisky* 'something'

3.5.7. *Reflexive*

{ *to:-* }

∞ *to:* ∞ *ta-*

3.5.7.1. ∞ *ta-* occurs before singular suffix *-n* and plural suffix *-m* followed by case suffixes.

Ex. *ta-n-k*	'to oneself'
ta-n-a:l	'by oneself'
ta-n-go:y	'for ownsake'
ta-m-k	'to ourselves'
ta-m-a:l	'by ourselves'
ta-m-go:y	'for oursake'

3.5.7.2. ∞ *to:* occurs elsewhere

Ex. *to:-n* 'oneself'

3.6. Numerals

3 6 1. *one*

{ *wīḏ* · }

∞ *o-*, ~ *-wī:r-*, ∞ *muda:l*, ∞ *-wīḏ*

3.6.1.1. ∞ *o-* occurs before *nu:ṛ* 'hundred' *so:fer* 'thousand' and *kwa:w* '*ačok* measure'.

Ex.	*o nu:ṛ*	'one hundred'
	o so:fer	'one thousand'
	o kwa:w	'eleven *ačok* measure'

3 6.1.2. ~*wī:r* occurs before *ak* '*ačok* measure' and *o:ṛ* 'year'.

Ex.	*wī:r ak*	'one *ačok* measure'
	wī:r o:ṛ	'one year'

3.6.1.3. ∞ *muda:l-* occurs before ordinal and adverbial suffix *-tīrk*.

Ex.	*muda:l- a:fīθ*	'first'
	muda:l- tīrk	'once'

3.6.1.4. ∞ *wīḏ* occurs elsewhere

Ex.	*wīd*	'one'
	pon wīḏ	'eleven'
	wīḏ o:ṭ	'one Toda man'
	wīḏ poṇm	'4 Annas (old coin)'

wīḏ ro·jn	'one king'
wīḏ se:r	'one seer measure'
wīḏ ko:s	'one rupee'
wīḏ pi:čm	'one *vi:če* measure'
wīḏ moṇʃ	'one *maṇaṅgu* measure'
wīḏ moṇy	'1 o' clock'

3.6.2. *Two*

{ *e:ḍ* }

∞ *ī*–, ∼*ī:r*–, ∞ *e:ḍ*–

3.6.2.1. ∞ *ī*– occurs before *poθ* 'ten' *nu:ṟ* 'hundred' and *kwa:w* 'measure'

Ex. *ī poθ* (2.5) —> *ī foθ*	'twenty'
ī nu:ṟ	'two hundred'
ī kwa:w	'twenty two *ačok* measure'

3.6.2.2. ∼*ī:r*– occurs before *ak* '*ačok* measure' and *o:ṟ* 'year'

Ex. *ī:r ak*	'two *ačok* measure'
ī:r o:ṟ	'two years'

3.6.2.3. ∞ *e:ḍ*– occurs elsewhere

Ex. *e:ḍ*	'two'
pon e:ḍ	'twelve'
e:ḍ so:fer	'two thousand'
e:ḍ moṇy	'2 o' clock'

e:ḍ poṇm	'8 Annas (old coin)'
e:ḍ kwa:w	'two *kwa:x* measure'
e:ḍ silyx	'two big measure'
e:ḍ e:ḍ	'two each'

3.6.3. *Three*

{ *mu:d̲* }

∞ *mu-*, ∞ *mu·d̲-*

3.6.3.1. ∞ *mu-* occurs before *poθ* 'ten', *nu:ṛ* 'hundred' *kwa:w* 'measure' and *ak* '*ačok* measure'

Ex. *mu poθ*	'thirty'
mu nu:ṛ	'three hundred'
mu kwa:w	'three *kwa:x* measure'
mu-ak (2.51, 52) —>	*ma:k* 'three *ačok* measure'

3.6.3.2. ∞ *mu:d̲* occurs elsewhere

Ex. *mu:d̲*	'three'
pon mu:d̲	'thirteen'
mu:d̲ o:ṭ	'three persons'
mu:d̲ koṛ	'three calves'
mu.d̲ a:ṣ	'three houses'
mu:d̲ poṇm	'12 Annas (old coin)'
mu:d̲ silyx	'three big measure'
mu:d̲ mu:d̲	'three each'

3.6.4. *Four*

{ *no:ng* }

∞ *nal-* ∞ *no:* ∞ *a:ng* ∞ *no:ng-*

3.6.4.1. ∞ *nal-* occurs before *poθ* 'ten'

Ex. *nalpoθ*	'forty'

3.6.4.2. ∞ *no:-* occurs before *nu:ṛ* 'hundred' and *kwa:w* 'measure'

Ex. *no: nu:ṛ*	'four hundred'
no: kwa:w	'four *kwa:x* measure'

3.6.4.3. ∞ *a:ng-* occurs after *p* denoting 'ten'

Ex. *p-a:ng*	'fourteen'
p-a:ng ak	'14 *ačok* measure'

3.6.4.4. ∞ *no:ng-* occurs elsewhere

Ex. *no:ng*	'four'
no:ng moṇy	'4 o' clock'
no:ng o:ṭ	'four Toda men'
no:ng so:fer	'four thousand'
no:ng ko:l	'4¼'
no:ng silyx	'four big measure'
no:ng nong	'four each'

3.6.5. *Five*

{ *üj* }

∞ *e–*, ∞ *ü:j*-, ∞ *oy–*, ∞ *üj–*

3.6.5.1. ∞ *e–* occurs before *boθ* 'ten' and *nu:ṟ* 'hundred' and it is in free variation with *oy* before *nu:ṟ*[1]

Ex. *eboθ*	'fifty'
enu:ṟ	'five hundred'
oynu:ṟ	'five hundred' (*Töwfiṭy* moiety)

3.6.5.2. ∞ *u:j* occurs after *p* denoting 'ten'

Ex. *p–u:j*	'fifteen'

3.6.5.3. ∞ *oy–* occurs before *ak* and *kwa:w*

Ex. *oy ak*	'five *ačok* measure'
oy kwa:w	'five *kwa:x* measure'

3.6.5.4. ∞ *üj* occurs elsewhere.

Ex. *üj*	'five'
üj moṇy	'five o' clock'
üj o:ṭ	'five Toda men'
üj tojmox	'five Toda women'
üj poṇm	'five (four annas) coin'
üj so:fer	'five thousand'

1 This form occurs in *Töwfiṭy* moiety speech.

üj silyx	'five big measure'
üj üj	'five each'

3.6.6. *Six*

{ *a:ṛ* }

∞ *aṛ–*, ∞ *a:ṛ*

3.6.6.1. ∞ *aṛ–* occurs before *pɔθ* 'ten' and *kwa:w* 'measure'.

Ex. *aṛ–poθ* (2.6) —> *aṛoθ* 'sixty'

aṛ–kwa:w 'six *kwa:x* measure'

3.6.6.2. ∞ *a:ṛ* occurs elsewhere

Ex. *a:ṛ*	'six'
p–a:ṛ	'sixteen'
a:ṛ nu:ṛ	'six hundred'
a:ṛ so:fer	'six thousaed'
a:ṛ ak	'six *ačok* measure'
a:ṛ moṇy	'six o' clock'
a:ṛ silyx	'six big measure'
a:ṛ a:ṛ	'six each'

3.6.7. *Seven*

{ *öw* }

∞ *a:w–* ∞ *öw–*

3.6.7.1. ∞ *a:w–* occurs after *p–* denoting 'ten'

Ex. *p–a:w* 'seventeen'

3.6 7 2. ∞ *öw–* occurs elsewhere

Ex. *öw*	'seven'
öw–poe (2.6)—> *öwoe*	'seventy'
öw nu:ṛ	'seven hundred'
öw so:fer	'seven thousand'
öw kwa:w	'seven *kwa:x* measure'
öw silyx	'seven big measure'

3.6.8. *Eight*

{ *öṭ* }

∞ *u:ṭ–* ∞ *öṭ–*

3.6.8 1. ∞ *u:ṭ–* occurs after *p–* denoting 'ten'

Ex. *p-u:ṭ*	'eighteen'

3.6.8.2. ∞ *öṭ–* occurs elsewhere

Ex. *öṭ*	'eight'
öṭ-poe (2.5) —> *öṭfoe*	'eighty'
öṭ nu:ṛ	'eight hundred'
öt so:fer	'eight thousand'
öṭ ak	'eight *ačok* measure'
öṭ kwa:w	'eight *kwa:x* measure'
öṭ silyx	'eight big measure'
öṭ öṭ	'eight each'

3.6.9. *Nine*

{ *wīnboe* }

∞ *e:ṇ–* ∞ *u:nboe–*, ∞ *wīnbo–* ∞ *winboe*

3.6.9.1. ∞ *e:ṇ-* occurs before *boe* 'ten'

Ex. *e:ṇboe* 'ninety'

3.6.9.2. ∞ *winbo* occurs before word juncture #

Ex. *wīnbo nu:ṟ* 'nine hundred'

wīnbo so:fer 'nine thousand'

wīnbo poṇm 'nine old coin'

wīnbo kwa:w 'nine *kwa:x* measure'

wīnbo silyx 'nine big measure'

wīnbo-ak (2.51,52) —> *wīnba:k*
'nine *ačok* measure'

3.6.9.3. ∞ *u:nboe* occurs after *p-* denoting 'ten'

Ex. *pu:nboe* 'nineteen'

3.6.9.4. ∞ *wīnboe* occurs only as a numeral

Ex. *wīnboe* 'nine'

3.6.10. *Ten*

{ *pot* }

∞ *pon-*, ∞ *poe-*, ∞ *boe-*, ∞ *p-*, ∞ *pot*

3.6.10.1. ∞ *pon-* occurs as adjective base before one, two and three.

Ex. *pon wīḏ* 'eleven'

pon e:ḍ 'twelve'

pon mu:ḏ 'thirteen'

3.6 10.2. ∞ *poθ* occurs after *mu–*, *nal–*, *aṛ–*, *öw–* *ī–* and *öṭ–* denoting 'three', 'four', 'six', 'seven', 'two' and 'eight'.

Ex. *mupoθ*				'thirty'
nalpoθ				'forty'
aṛ–poθ	(2.6)	—>	*aṛoθ*	'sixty'
öw-poθ	(2.6)	—>	*öwoθ*	'seventy'
ī–poθ	(2.5)	—>	*īfoθ*	'twenty'
öṭ–poθ	(2.5)	—>	*öṭfoθ*	'eighty'

3.6.10.3. ∞ *boθ–* occurs after *e–*, *pu:n* and *e:n̲*

Ex. *e-boθ*	'fifty'
pu:n-boθ	'nineteen'
e:ṇ-boθ	'ninety'

3.6.10.4. ∞ *p–* occurs before *–a:ng*, *-u:ǰ*, *-a:ṛ*, *–a:w*, *u:ṭ* and *–u:nboθ*.

Ex. *pa:ng*	'fourteen'
pu:ǰ	'fifteen'
pa:ṛ	'sixteen'
pa:w	'seventeen'
pu:ṭ	'eighteen'
pu:nboθ	'nineteen'

3.6.10.5. ∞ *pot* occurs elsewhere

Ex. *pot*	'ten'
pot sofer	'ten thousand'
pot poṇm	'ten old coins'

pot ak	'ten *ačok* measure'
pot kwa:w	'ten *kwa:x* measure'

3.6.11. *Hundred*

{ *nu:ṟ* }

~ *nu:ṟ*

3.6.11.1. ~ *nu:ṟ*

Ex. *nu:ṟ*	'hundred'
nu:ṟ wīḏ	'hundred and one'
nu:ṟ e:ḍ	'hundred and two'
nu:ṟ mu:ḏ	'hundred and three'
nu:ṟ no:ng	'hundred and four'
nu:ṟ üj	'hundred and five'
nu:ṟ a:ṟ	'hundred and six'
nu:ṟ öw	'hundred and seven'
nu:ṟ öṭ	'hundred and eight'
nu:ṟ wīnboθ	'hundred and nine'
nu:ṟ poθ	'hundred and ten'
nu:ṟ ponwīḏ	'hundred and eleven'
nu:ṟ pone:ḍ	'hundred and twelve'
nu:ṟ ponmu:ḏ	'hnndred and thirteen'
nu:ṟ pa:ng	'hundred and fourteen'
nu:ṟ pu:ǰ	'hundred and fifteen'
nu:ṟ poθ	'hundred and ten'
nu:ṟ īfoθ	'hundred and twenty'

nu:ṟ mupoθ	'hundred and thirty'
nu:ṟ nalpoθ	'hundred and forty'
nu:ṟ eboθ	'hundred and fifty'
nu:ṟ aṟoθ	'hundred and sixty'
nu:ṟ öwoθ	'hundred and seventy
nu:ṟ ötfoθ	'hundred and eighty'
nu:ṟ e:ṇboθ	'hundred and ninety'

3.6 12. *Thousand*

{ *so:fer* }

∞ *so:fer* ∞ *so:ferm*

3.6.12.1. ∞ *so:ferm*-occurs when it is followed by numerals.

Ex. *so:ferm wīḏ*	'thousand and one'
so:ferm e:ḍ	'thousand and two'
so:ferm mu:ḏ	'thousand and three'
so:ferm no:ng	'thousand and four'
so:ferm üj	'thousand and five'
so:ferm öṭ	'thousand and eight'
so:ferm īfoθ	'thousand and twenty'
so:ferm nalpoθ	'thousand and forty'
so:ferm eboθ	'thousand and fifty'
so:ferm e:ṇboθ	'thousand and ninety'

3.6.12.2. ∞ *so:fer* occurs elsewhere.

Ex. *o so:fer*	'one thousand'
e:ḍ so:fer	'two thousand'

mu:d̲ so:fer	'three thousand'
no:ng so:fer	'four thousand'
üj so:fer	'five thousand'
a:r̲ so:fer	'six thousand'
öw so:fer	'seven thousand'
öṭ so:fer	'eight thosand'
wīnbo so:fer	'nine thousand'
so:fer o:ṯ	'thousand Todas'
so:fer īr	'thousand buffaloes'

3.6.13. *Lakh*

{ *lačm* }

~ *lačm*

3.6.13.1 ~ *lačm*

Ex. *wīd̲ lačm*	'one lakh'
e:ḍ lačm	'two lakhs'
mu:d̲ lačm	'three lakhs'

wīd̲ lačm–t– pot so:fer (2.7) —>
wīd̲ lač–t– pot so:fer
'one lakh and ten thousands'

mu:d̲ lačm–t– no:ng so:fer (2.7) —>
mu:d̲ lač–t no:ng so:fer
'Three lakhs and four thousands'

no:ng lačm–t e:ḍ so:fer —>
no:ng lač–t e:ḍ so:fer
'Four lakhs and two thousands'

e:ḍ lačm–t üj so:fer (2.7) —>
e:ḍ lač–t üj so:fer
'Two lakhs and five thousands'

3.6.14. *Crore*

{ *kwī:ḍy* }

∞ *kwī:ḍy* ∞ *kwī:ḍym*

3.6.14.1. ∞ *kwī:ḍym* occurs when it is followed by the numeral lakhs.

Ex. *no:ng kwī:ḍym e:ḍ lačm*
'Four crores and two lakhs'
e:ḍ kwī:ḍym mu:ḏ lačm 'Two crores and three lakhs'
üj kwī:ḍym öṭ lačm 'Five crores and eight lakhs'

3.6.14.2. ∞ *kwī:ḍy* occurs elsewhere

Ex. *wīḏ kwī:ḍy*	'one crore'
e:ḍ kwī:ḍy	'two crores'
mu:ḏ kwī:ḍy	'three crores'
no:ng kwī:ḍy	'four crores'
üj kwī:ḍy	'five crores'
kwī:ḍy īr	'crore buffaloes'

3.7. Derivative nouns

3.7.1. *Agentive suffix*

St.

{ *-xo:ṛ* }

∼ *- xo:ṛ*

3.7.1.1. ~ *-xo:ṛ* occurs after the nouns *karm* etc as given below.

Ex. *karm-xo:ṛ-n*	'sinner'
koṭy-xo:ṛ-n	'clever fellow'
kwaly-xo:ṛ-n	'murderer'
ogoḍy-xo:ṛ-n	'person who posses shop'
koṛṇ-xo:ṛ-n	'person with debt'
poṇm-xo:ṛ-n (2.7) —> *poṇxo:ṛn*	'rich man'
ašky-xo:ṛ-n	'person who sells rice'
kapoṭy-xo:ṛ-n	'person who sells jaggery'
eṇo:y-xo:ṛ-n	'person who sells oil'
kubḷy-xo:ṛ-n	'person who sells blankets'
toyl-xo:ṛ-n	'Eucalyptus seller'
poḍy-xo:ṛ-n	'person who possessing or driving carts'
so:roy-xo:ṛ-n	'arrack seller'
twī:ṭm-xo:ṛ-n (2.7) —> *twī:ṭxo:ṛn*	'person who possess lands'
paṭ-xo:ṛ-n	'person who sells bangles'
püṭy-xo:ṛ-n	'person who sells tamarind'
mī:n-xo:ṛ-n	'person who sells fish'

This is a very productive derivation in the Toda language.

3.7.2. ~ *-o:m* occurs after the noun *kwīḍbīḷ-*

Ex. *kwīḍbīl-o:m* 'relatives'

3 7.3. ~ *-upm* occurs after noun *koy-*

Ex. *koy-upm* 'signature'

3.7.4. ~ *-o:ṯ* occurs in the following

Ex. *püty o:ṯ* 'wise man'

püen o:ṯ 'stranger'

soko:ṭmo:ṯ 'sick person'

mod̲o:ṯ 'Toda village people'

3.7.5. ~ *-my* occurs after the following stems

Ex. *per-my* 'greatness, fame'

naṯ-my (2.10) —> *nanmy* 'goodness'

4

Verbs

4.0. Verbs are those which can take or are capable of taking tense suffixes. Verbal nouns and participial nouns take case suffixes also. Since they are derived from the verb stems, they are treated under verbs.

4.1.1. *Transitive*

V_{intr_2} —

$\left\{ -t- \right\}$

∞–*t*– ∞–*c*– ∞–*f*–

4.1.1.1. ∞–*c*– occurs after all the intransitive$_2$ of *y* class (4.22.1.3.2) *e* class (4.22.2.3.2) *t* class (4.22.3.3.2) and after the intransitive$_2$ of *d* class (4.22.4.3.2).

Ex. *kak–c* 'to make to vomit'

o:ḍ–c				'to make to dance'
mu:x–c				'to destroy'
o:r–c				'to settle dispute'
ti:r–c				'to finish'
ko:y-c	(2.26)	—>	*ko:c*	'to heat'
koḍy–c	(2.26)	—>	*koḍc*	'to make to disappear'
tīry–c	(2 26)	—>	*tīrc*	'to translate'
naḍc				'to conduct'
toṇy–c	(2.26)	—>	*toṇc*	'to make cool, calm'
pīxy–c	(2.26)	—>	*pīxc*	'to tighten'
püry–c	(2.26)	—>	*pürc*	'to fill'
pīṛy–c	(2.26)	—>	*pīṛc*	'to make spring forth'
tüṯy–c	(2.26)	—>	*tüṯc*	'to calm'
kaṯ–c	(2 9)	—>	*kalc*	'to teach'
köṛ-c	(2.11)	—>	*köḍc*	'to destory'
twī:ṯ–c	(2.9)	—>	*twī:lc*	'to defeat'
mony–c	(2 26)	—>	*monc*	'to forgive'
pīṛ–c				'to destory'
o:poṛ–c				'to catch'
töḍxöṛ–c				'to make tired'
nil–c				'to stop'

4.1.1.2. ∞–*t*– occurs after the intransitive$_2$ of *y* class (4.23.1.3.1), *θ* class (4.23.2.3.1) and after the intransitive$_2$ of *d* class (4.23.4.3.1)

Ex. *alx–t*	(2.3,4)	—>	*alk*	'to shake'
ī:x–t	(2.3,4)	—>	*ī:k*	'to put down burden'

oḍg-t	(2.3,4)	—>	*oḍk*	'to subdue'
wīṛg-t	(2.3,4)	—>	*wīṛk*	'to crush'
tīrb-t	(2.3,4)	—>	*tīrp*	'to turn (key)'
o:ḍ-t	(2.3,4)	—>	*o:ṭ*	'to shake'
ku:ṛ-t	(2.3,4)	—>	*ku:ṭ*	'to join'
ni:ṛ-t	(2.3,4)	—>	*ni:ṭ*	'to stretchout'
mo:ṟ-t	(2.3,4)	—>	*mo:ṯ*	'to change (way)'
tö:ṟ-t	(2.3,4)	—>	*tö:ṯ*	'to make improve (in health)'
öḍ-t	(2.12)	—>	*öṛt*	'to arouse'
kaḍ-t	(2.12)	—>	*kaṛt*	'to take cross'
naṛ-t		—>		'to make to walk'
sö:r-t	(2.13)	—>	*sö:t*	'to make to reach'
u:ḷ-t	(2 1,2)	—>	*u:ṭ*	'to roll'
tu:ḷ-t	(2.1,2)	—>	*tu:ṭ*	'to rollup'
pī:ḷ-t	(2.1,2)	—>	*pī:ṭ*	'to make tumble over'
pu:ḷ-t	(2 1 2)	—>	*pu:ṭ*	'to tie around some else's neck'
kiskwīḷ-t	(2.1,2)	—>	*kiskwīṭ*	'to tickle'
ni:ḷ-t	(2.1,2)	—>	*ni:ṭ*	'to stretchout'
pe:ḷ-t	(2.1,2)	—>	*pe:ṭ*	'to frighten away (buffalo)'
ko:ṇ-t	(2.1.2)	—>	*ko:ṭ*	'to show'
no:l-t	(2.3,4)	—>	*no:ṯ*	'to make to become wet'

4.1.1.3. ∞ *-f-* occurs elsewhere

Ex. *öḍ-f* (2.12) —> *öṛf* 'to arouse from sleep'

kwal-f	'to make to be emaciated'
aṛ-f	'to shut'
twaḍ-f	'be polluted'
waṛ-f	'to break'
taṛ-f	'to prevent'
nen-f	'to make to think'
pax-f	'be divided'
kwaṟ-f	'to cut'
peṭ̂-f	'to grow'
kaṟ-f	'to tighten'
neṟ-f	'to fill'

4 1.2. *Causative*

S_1-

{ *-eṯ* }

~ *-eṯ*[1]

4.1.2.1. ~ *-eṯ*

Ex. *tin-eṯ*	'to cause to eat'
maṟ-eṯ	'to cause to forget'
uṇ-eṯ	'to cause to drink'
īr-eṯ	'to cause to sit'
naṛ-eṯ	'to cause to walk'

1. Prof. M. B. Emeneau connects this to Tamil-Malayalam *eṟṟu* 'to strike, throw (as with a sling)'. This might originally be a periphrastic construction involving the infinite form of a verb plus *eṟṟu*.

kaṯ-eṯ	'to cause to learn'
öšt-eṯ	'to cause to say'
kīy-eṯ	'to cause to do'
nīl-eṯ	'to cause to stand'

4.2. Verbal derivative[1]

Verbal derivative is not productive in Toda. There are many verbal derivative suffixes like *-p* *-f* *-īl* -t etc. which occur after verbal stems. The number of verbal stems to which each of these derivative suffixes added is limited.

St.

4.2.1. *The deed*

{ -p }

∞-*ky* ∞-*θy* ∞-*y* ∞-*f* ∞-*m* ∞-*p*

4.2.1.1. ∞-*ky* occurs after the verbs *nob-*, *oj-*, and *ko:ṇ-*

Ex. *nob-ky*	'belief'
oj-ky	'fear'
ko:ṇ-ky	'offering to Hindu temple'

1 Verbal derivative is a non-productive morpheme and so the allomorphs of the various verbal derivative suffixes are morphologically conditioned.

See: Dr. S. Agesthialingom, *Description of the language of Patiṟṟuppattu*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Kerala Univ., 1961.

See also: Dr. S. V. Shanmugam, *The Language of Tamil Inscriptions (1350 to 1700 A.D)*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Annamalai Univ., 1968.

4.2.1.2. ∞-*f* occurs after the verb *aṭ*-

Ex. *aṭ-f* 'measurement'

4.2.1.3. ∞-*θy* occurs after the verb *maṟ*-

Ex. *maṟ-θy* 'forgetfulness'

4.2.1.4. ∞-*y* occurs after the verbs *po:t*- and *pax*-

Ex. *po:t-y* 'bed'

pax-y 'division'

4.2.1.5. ∞-*m* occurs after the verbs *öṇ*-, -*ku:ṭ* and *wī:ḍ*-

Ex. *öṇ-m* 'counting'

ku:ṭ-m 'meeting of assembly'

wī:ḍ-m 'running'

4.2.1.6. ∞-*p* occurs after the verbs *uny*-, *nen*-, and *moṇy*-

Ex. *uny-p* 'a thought'

nen-p ,,

moṇy-p 'forgiveness'

4.2.2. *Resultive nominals*

{ -*f* }

∞-*f*, ∞-*mo:ṇm*, ∞-*xīn* ∞-*n* ∞-*p*

4.2.2.1. ∞-*f* occurs after the verbs *ke:ṭ* and *neṟ*-

Ex. *ke:ṭ-f* 'news, word'

neṟ-f 'full moon

4.2.2.2. ∞-*p* occurs after the verb *naṟ*-

Ex. *naṟ-p* 'character'

4.2.2.3. ∞ - *mo:nm* occurs after the verb *ti:r–*

Ex. *ti:r-mo:nm* 'decision'

4.2.2.4. ∞ *-xīn* occurs after the verb *toṭ–*

Ex. *toṭ–xīn* 'goldsmith'

4.2.2.5. ∞*n* occurs after the verb *koḷ–*

Ex. *koḷ–n* (2.17) —> *koḷṇ* 'thief'

4.2.3. *Action nominals*

{ *-īl* }

~*-īl*

4.2.3.1. ~*īl* occurs after the verbs *pīk– kasp– ko:f– ku:s–* and *kwīỵ–*

Ex. *pīk-īl*	'cough'
kasp–īl	'trangression of dairy rules'
ko:f–īl	'act of watching'
ku:s–īl	'a heap'
kwīỵ–īl	'ridicule'

4.2.4. *Resultant-object nominals*

{ *-t* }

∞*-t*, ∞*-fu*, ∞*-īṭe:r*, ∞*fy*, ∞*∅*, ∞*xuṭy*

4.2.4.1. ∞*-fu* occurs after this *aṛy–*

Ex. *aṛy-fu* —> *aṛyfu* 'knowledge'

4.2.4.2. ∞–*īṭe:r* occurs after the verb *pi:k–*

Ex. *pi:k–īṭe:r* 'a lie'

4.2.4.3. ∞-*fy* occurs after the verb *kaꞇ*

Ex. *kaꞇ-fy* (2.9) —> *kalfy* 'education'

4.2.4.4. ∞-*xuꞇ̣y* occurs after the verb *oj–*

Ex. *oj–xuꞇ̣y* 'coward'

4.2.4 5. ∞-∅ occurs after the verb *pu:ṭ*

Ex. *pu:ṭ–∅* —> *pu:ṭ* 'a lock'

4.2.4.6 ∞ –*t* occurs after the verbs *oṭy–*, *īṭ–*, *karc–*, *pe:s–*, *wī:ɵy–* and *neṣoṭy*.

(*up*) *oṭy–t* (2.26) —> (*up*) *oṭt* 'act of pouring salt for the buffalo'

(*pīṣ*) *īṭ–t* 'bow giving ceremony during women's pregnancy'

(*pꞇp*) *karc–t* 'act of purifying the coagulant'

(*poꞇ̣y*) *pe:s–t* 'act of thatching the dairy'

(*pok*) *wī:ɵy–t* (2.26) —> *pok wī:ɵt* 'act of reading' (book)

(*maḍ*) *neṣoṭy–t* (2.26) —> (*maḍ*) *neṣoṭt* 'act of salutation (head)'

4.2.5. *The instrument or consequence of action*

{ –*xu:* }

∞ –*xu:* ∞ -*xuꞇ̣y*

4.2.5.1 ∞ *-xu:* occurs after the verb *müc-*

Ex. *müc-xu:* 'lid'

4.2 5.2. ∞ *-xuṭy* occurs after the verb *pu:t-*

Ex. *pu:t-xuṭy* 'cloak'

4.3. Verb classes

When we look into the conjugational system of Toda verbs, we come across two types of stems, which we call simple stem (labelled as) S_1 and secondary stem (labelled as) S_2. Verbal base (S_1) is basis for all verb construction. In Toda, verbs have a secondary stem (S_2) which forms the basis for the past tense and of the present-future tense (as well as of some other formations). The secondary stem which corresponds to the past stem of the other South Dravidian languages is formed by adding one of the following suffixes to the verb base (1) *-ø-* (2) *-t-* (3) *-d-* and (4) *-y-*. Toda has in the S_2 stem the following classes[1]. By adding these, certain changes take place. These changes are dealt in the morphophonemic section. (See Rules 2.20-2 40).

1) $S_2 = S_1 + y$
2) $S_2 = S_1 + ø$
3) $S_2 = S_1 + t$
4) $S_2 = S_1 + d$

4.3.1. *Tense suffixes*

$\{ S_2 - \}$

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1 M. B. Emeneau, 'The South Dravidian Languages,' *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 87, p. 365-412, 1967.

4.3.1.1. *Non-past (Present–Future)*

{ *-p-* }

∞ *-∅-* ∞ *-t-* ∞ *-p-*

4.3.1.1.1. ∞ -∅- occurs after the secondary stem S_2 and before personal termination in declaratives.

Ex.	*pod-∅-pin-i*	—> *podpini*	'come–I'
	pod-∅-pim-i	—> *podpimi*	'come–we (excl.)'
	pod-∅-pum-i	—> *podpumi*	'come–we (incl.)'
	pod-∅-p-i	—> *podpi*	'come-you'
	pod-∅-tš-i	—> *podtši*	'come-you (pl.)'
	pod-∅-t-i	—> *podti*	'comes–he/she/it'
	pod-∅-t-i	—> *podti*	'come–they'
	pi:-∅-pin-i	—> *pi:pini*	'go–I'
	pi:-∅-pim-i	—> *pi:pimi*	'go–we (excl.)'
	pi:-∅-pum-i	—> *pi:pumi*	'go–we (incl.)'
	pi:-∅-p-i	—> *pi:pi*	'go–you'
	pi:-∅-tš-i	—> *pi:tši*	'go–you (pl.)'
	pi:-∅-t-i	—> *pi:ti*	'goes–he/she/it'
	pi:-∅-t-i	—> *pi:ti*	'go–they'
	tid̲-∅-pin-i	—> *tīd̲pini*	'eat–I'
	tid̲-∅-pim-i	—> *tīd̲pimi*	'eat–we (excl.)'
	tīd̲-∅-pum-i	—> *tīd̲pumi*	'eat–we (incl.)'
	tīd̲-∅-p-i	—> *tīd̲pi*	'eat–you'
	tīd̲-∅-tš-i	—> *tīd̲tši*	'eat–you (pl.)'
	tīd̲-∅-t-i	—> *tīd̲ti*	'eats–he/she/it'

tīḏ-∅-t-i	—>	*tīḏti*	'eat-they'
pīṯ-∅-pin-i	—>	*pīṯpini*	'carry-I'
pīṯ-∅-pim-i	—>	*pīṯpimi*	'carry-we (excl.)'
pīṯ-∅-pum-i	—>	*pīṯpumi*	'carry-we (incl.)'
pīṯ-∅-p-i	—>	*pīṯpi*	'carry-you'
pīṯ-∅-tš-i	—>	*pīṯtši*	'carry-you (pl.)'
pīṯ-∅-t-i	—>	*pīṯti*	'carries-he/she/it'
piṯ-∅-t-i	—>	*pīṯti*	'carry-they'
uḍ-∅-pin-i	—>	*uḍpini*	'drink-I'
uḍ-∅-pim-i	—>	*uḍpimi*	'drink-we (incl.)'
uḍ-∅-pum-i	—>	*uḍpumi*	'drink-we (excl.)
uḍ-∅-p-i	—>	*uḍpi*	'drink-you'
uḍ-∅-tš-i	—>	*uḍtši*	'drink-you (pl.)'
uḍ-∅-t-i	—>	*uḍti*	'drinks-he/she/it'
uḍ-∅-t-i	—>	*uḍti*	'drink-they'
kaṟe-∅-pin-i	—>	*kaṟepini*	'milk-I'
kaṟe-∅-pim-i	—>	*kaṟepimi*	'milk-we (excl.)
kaṟe-∅-pum-i	—>	*kaṟepumi*	'milk-we (incl.)
kaṟe-∅-p-i	—>	*kaṟepi*	'milk-you'
kaṟe-∅-tš-i	—>	*kaṟetši*	'milk-you (pl.)
kaṟe-∅-t-i	—>	*kaṟeti*	'milks-he'
kaṟe-∅-t-i	—>	*kaṟeti*	'milk-they'

S_1— (caus.)

tīn-eṯ-∅-pin-i	—>	*tīneṯpini*	'to cause to eat-I'
tīn-eṯ-∅-pim-i	—>	*tīneṯpimi*	'to cause to eat-we (excl.)'

tīn-eṭ-∅-pum-i	—>	*tīneṭpumi*	'to cause to eat-we (incl.)'
tīn-eṭ-∅-p-i	—>	*tīneṭpi*	'to cause to eat-you'
tīn-eṭ-∅-tši	—>	*tīneṭtši*	'to cause to eat-you (pl.)'
tīn-eṭ-∅-t-i	—>	*tīneṭti*	'to cause to eat-he/she'
tīn-eṭ-∅-t-i	—>	*tīneṭti*	'to cause to eat-they'
naṛ-eṭ-∅-pin-i	—>	*naṛeṭpini*	'to cause to walk-I'
naṛ-eṭ-∅-pim-i	—>	*naṛeṭpimi*	'to cause to walk-we (excl.)'
naṛ-eṭ-∅-pum-i	—>	*naṛeṭpumi*	'to cause to walk-we (incl.)'
naṛ-eṭ-∅-p-i	—>	*naṛeṭpi*	'to cause to walk-you'
naṛ-eṭ-∅-ttš-i	—>	*naṛeṭtši*	'to cause to walk-you (pl.)'
naṛ-eṭ-∅-t-i	—>	*naṛeṭti*	'to cause to walk-he/she'
naṛ-eṭ-∅-t-i	—>	*naṛeṭti*	'to cause to walk-they'

4.3.1.1.2. ∞ *-p* occurs after secondary stem (S_2) and before *o:ṭ* in participial noun.

Ex. *pod-p-o:ṭ*	—>	*podpo:ṭ*	'person who comes'
kīs-p-o:ṭ	—>	*kīs-p-o:ṭ*	'person who does'
pi:-p-o:ṭ	—>	*pi:po:ṭ*	'person who goes'
uḍ-p-o:ṭ	—>	*uḍpo:ṭ*	'person who drinks'
ōštv-p-o:ṭ	—>	*ōštypo:ṭ*	'person who says'

tīḏ-p-o:ṯ	—> *tīḏpo:ṯ*	'person who eats'
kaṟə-p-o:ṯ	—> *kaṟəpo:ṯ*	'person who milks'

4.3.1.1.3. ∞-*t*- occurs after secondary stem S_2 and before relative participle suffix -*ø in* relative participle$_1$.

Ex. *kaṯ-t-ø*	—> *kaṯt*	'that studying'
pod-t-ø	—> *podt*	'that coming'
kīs-t-ø	—> *kīst*	'that doing'
püṣoḍə-t-ø	—> *püṣoḍət*	'that calling'
nīḏ-t-ø	—> *nīḏt*	'that standing'

4.3.1 2. *Past tense*

In Toda language the past tense and the present-future (as well as some other formations) are formed on a special stem that may be called the 'secondary stem' (S_2 of Emeneau). This secondary stem historically corresponds to the past stem of Tamil–Malayalam and some other languages. The secondry stem is formed by adding one of the following suffixes to the verb base 1. *ø* 2. *t* 3. *d* and 4. *y*. 'In South Dràvidian Toda is the only language which retains in full working order as part of the past tense formation the sibilant suffix that must be reconstructed as part of past tense apparatus for Proto-Dravidian'[1].

It has śeveral sibilant allomorphs *s z*, *ṣ ẓ*, *š ž*, *ṣ ẓ* and *ø* *s* has been taken as base and all other sibilants have been explained as phonologically conditioned alternants. For details see the sandhi rules S.2.41–2.49.

1. Emeneau, M.B. 'Toda, A Dravidian language' *Transactions of the Philological Society* p. 46, 1957.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} S_2\text{—} \\ S_1\text{—(Tr.)} \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\left\{ \text{-}s\text{—} \right\}$$

$\sim$-*s*- ∞-∅-.

4.3.1.2.1. ∞-∅- occurs after the secondary stem (S_2) and before relative participle suffix *-foy*.

Ex. *kaṯ-∅-foy*	—> *kaṯfoy*	'studied'
pod-∅-foy	—> *podfoy*	'came'
naṟө-∅-foy	—> *naṟөfoy*	'walked'
kīs-∅-foy	—> *kīsfoy*	'did'
kaṟө-∅-foy	—> *kaṟөfoy*	'milked'

4.3.1.2.2. $\sim$-*s*- occurs elsewhere.

Ex. *nenө-s-pin-i* (2.41)
—> *nenspini* 'thought-I'

pūṣoḍө-s-pin-i (2.41)
—> *pūṣoḍspini* 'called-I'

parө-s-pin-i (2.41)
—> *parspini* 'wrote-I'

kaṟө-s-pin-i (2.41)
—> *kaṟspini* 'milked-I'

aṟt-s-pin-i (2.41)
—> *aṟspini* 'cut-I'

monc-s-pin-i (2.41)
—> *monspini* 'forgave-I'

unc-s-pin-i (2.41)
—> *unspini* 'thought-I'

aṛs-s-pin-i (2.18)
—> *aṛspini* 'knew-I'

pe:s-s-pin-i (2.18)
—> *pe:spini* 'thatched-I'

pīrs-s-pin-i (2.18)
—> *pīrspini* 'demolised-I'

mürs-s-pin-i (2.18)
—> *mürspini* 'broke-I'

kīs- -pin-ī (2.18)
—> *kīspini* 'did-I'

pod-s-pin-ī (2.42,49)
—> *pozpini* 'came-I'

tod-s-pin-i (2.42.49)
—> *tozpini* 'gave-I'

sö:d-s-pin-i (2.42,49)
—> *sö:zpini* 'arrived-I'

u:d-s-pin-i (2.42,49)
—> *u:zpini* 'disappeared-I'

kaṭ-s-pin-ī (2.43,49)
—> *kaṣpini* 'learnt-I'

mu:neṭ-s-pin-i (2.43,49)
—> *mu:neṣpini* 'liked-I'

twī:ṭy-s-pin-i (2.43,49)
—> *twī:ṣpini* 'defeated-I'

wī:ṭy-s-pin-i (2.26,43,49)
—> *wī:ṣpini* 'drove calf from udder-I'

tö:ṯy-s-pin-i (2.26,43,49)
—> *tö:ẕpini* 'made to improve (in health)-I'

kwaḏ-s-pin-i (2.44,49)
—> *kwaẕpini* 'ran in circle-I'

ka:ḏ-s-pin-i (2.44,49)
—> *ka:ẕpini* 'fell from the tree-I'

te:ḏ-s-pin-i (2.44,49)
—> *te:ẕpini* 'did (work) - I'

nīḏ-s-pin-i (2.44,49)
—> *nīẕpini* 'stood-I'

īḏ-s-pin-i (2.44,49)
—> *īẕpini* 'said-I'

ko:ḏ-s-pin-i (2.44,49)
—> *ko:ẕpini* 'vomitted-I'

e:mo:ty-s-pin-i (2.26,45,49)
—> *e:mo:špini* 'deceived-I'

pīty-s-pin-i (2.26,45,49)
—> *pīšpini* 'sowed (seed)-I'

pinty-s-pin-i (2.26,45,49)
—> *pīnšpini* 'asked-I'

ki:č-s-pin-i (2.45,49)
—> *ki:špini* 'combed-I'

ko:č-s-pin-i (2.45,49)
—> *ko:špini* 'boiled-I'

ürpy-s-pin-i (2.26,45)
—> *ürpšpini* 'played (puxury)-I'

as̱py-s-pin-i (2.26,45)
—> *as̱pšpini* 'cleaned-I'

noby–s–pin–i (2.26,45)
—> *nobšpini* 'believed-I'

tīrby–s–pin–i (2.26,45)
—> *tīrbšpini* 'twisted–I'

kufy–s–pin–i (2.26,45)
—> *kufšpini* 'pounded (clothes in washing)–I'

upy–s–pin–i (2.26,45)
—> *upšpini* 'agreed–I'

kīdy–s–pin–i (2.26,46,49)
—> *kīžpini* 'sprinkled-I'

tīdy–s pin–i (2.26,46,49)
—> *tīžpini* 'made straight (crookedness)–I'

udy–s–pin–i (2.26,46,49)
—> *užpini* 'smeared–I'

kwīǰ–s–pin–i (2.46,49)
—> *kwīžpini* 'ridiculed–I'

ni:ǰ–s–pin–i (2.46,49)
—> *ni:žpini* 'swam–I'

pu:ǰ–s–pin–i (2.46,49)
—> *pu̇žpini* 'worshipped–I'

pīḍǰ–s–pin–i (2.46,49)
—> *pīḍžpini* 'released–I'

oṭ–s–pin–i (2.47,49)
—> *oṣpini* 'cooked–I'

pīṭ–s–pin–i (2.47,49)
—> *pīṣpini* 'left–I'

poṭ-s-pin-i (2.47,49)
—> *poṣpini* 'laid down-I'

a:foṭ-ṣ-pin-i (2.47,49)
—> *a:foṣpini* 'talked-I'

töḍxöṭ-s-pin-i (2.47,49)
—> *töḍxöṣpini* 'tired-I'

īṭ-s-pin-i (2.47,49)
—> *īṣpini* 'put-I'

wī:rīṭ-s-pin-i (2.47,49)
—> *wī:rīṣpini* 'listerned-I'

kiskwīṭy-s-pin-i (2.26,47,49)
—> *kiswīṣpini* 'tickled-I'

nwī:ṭy-s-pin-i (2.26,47,49)
—> *nwī:ṣpini* 'looked-I'

oṭy-s-pin-i (2.26,47,49)
—> *oṣpini* 'poured-I'

koṭy-s-pin-i (2.26,47,49)
—> *koṣpini* 'built (house)-I'

mu:ku:ṭy-s-pin-i (2.26,47,49)
—> *mu:ku:ṣpini* 'met-I'

puk-s-pin-i (2.47)
—> *pukṣpini* 'entered-I'

öθky-s-pin-i (2.26,47)
—> *öθkṣpini* 'jumped-I'

kalky-s-pin-i (2.26,47)
—> *kalkṣpini* 'stirred up-I'

moṛky-s-pin-i (2.26,47)
—> *moṛkṣpini* 'folded-I'

puṣky-s-pin-i (2.26,47)
—> *puṣkṣpini* 'boiled (potato)-I'

nī:ḍ-s-pin-i (2.48,49)
—> *nī:ẓpini* 'peeped over I'

kwīḍ-s-pin-i (2.48,49)
—> *kwīẓpini* 'carried (corpse)-I'

kīskwīḍ-s-pin-i (2.48,49)
—> *kīskwīẓpini* 'tickled-I'

teškwīḍ-s-pin-i (2.48,49)
—> *teškwīẓpini* 'hugged-I'

pī:ḍ-s-pin-i (2.48,49)
—> *pī:ẓpini* 'tumbledover-I'

oḍ-s-pin-i (2.48,49)
—> *o:ẓpini* 'ruled-I'

nö:ḍ-s-pin-i (2.48,49)
—> *nö:ẓpini* 'made robe of bark-I'

pu:ḍ-s-pin-i (2.48,49)
—> *pu: ẓpini* 'wore around neck-I'

koḍ-s-pin-i (2.48,49)
—> *koẓpini* 'looked-I'

uḍ-s-pin-i (2.48,49)
—> *uẓpini* 'drank-I'

o:ḍy-s-pin-i (2.26,48,49)
—> *o:ẓpini* 'danced-I'

4.4. Prohibitive

Singular and plural

S_2—

$\{$ *o-* $\}$

~ *-o-*

4.4.1. ~ *-o-*

Ex. *pod-o-ṭ-i*	—>	*podoṭi*	'Do not come-you (sg.)'
pī:-o-ṭ-i	—>	*pi:oṭi*	'Do not go-you (sg.)'
naṛe-o-ṭ-i	—>	*naṛeoṭi*	'Do not walk-you (sg.)'
tīd̲-o-ṭ-i	—>	*tīd̲oṭi*	'Do not eat-you (sg.)'
öšty-o-ṭ-i (2.26)	—>	*öštoṭi*	'Do not say-you (sg.)'
ko:ṭ-o-ṭ-i	—>	*koṭoṭi*	'Do not show-you (sg.)'
nwī:ṭy-o-ṭ-i (2.26)	—>	*nwī:ṭoṭi*	'Do not see-you (sg.)
kwī:ṛt-o-ṭ-i	—>	*kwīṛtoṭi*	'Do not give-you (sg.)'
wī:ḍ-o-ṭ-i	—>	*wī:ḍoṭi*	'Do not run-you (sg.)'
pod-o-s̲-i	—>	*podos̲i*	'Do not come-you (pl.)'
tīd̲-o-s̲-i	—>	*tīd̲os̲i*	'Do not eat-you (pl.)'
pi:-o-s̲-i	—>	*pi:os̲i*	'Do not go-you (pl.)'
ko:ṭ-o-s̲-i	—>	*ko:ṭos̲i*	'Do not show-you (pl.)'
nīd̲-o-s̲-i	—>	*nīd̲os̲i*	'Do not stand-you (pl.)'
poṭ-o-s̲-i	—>	*poṭos̲i*	'Do not lie down-you (pl.)'
uḍ-o-s̲-i	—>	*uḍos̲i*	'Do not drink-you (pl.)'
nwī:ṭy-o-s̲-i (2.26)	—>	*nwī:ṭos̲i*	'Do not look (pl.)'

4.5. Negative

There are two types of negative in Toda language. **Neg₁** denotes generally past negative; Neg₂ denotes the

present-future negative. Neg_2 is discussed under 4. 17 because it differ from Neg_1 in structure (position class).

4.5.1. *Negative₁*

$$S_1 \text{ —Neg- } \begin{Bmatrix} \text{Rel. part.} \\ \text{Verbal part.} \\ \text{Personal sfx.} \end{Bmatrix}$$

{ *-o-* }

∞ *-o-*

4.5.1.1. ∞ *-o-* occurs after the verbal base (S_1) and before relative participle suffix-*foy*, verbal participle *-ə* and personal suffixes.

Ex. *nwī:ṭ-o-foy*	'not seeing'
pint-o-foy	'not asking'
kīy-o-foy	'not doing'
a:foṛ-o-foy	'not talking'
par-o-foy	'not writing'
uṇ-o-foy	'not drinking'
kaṭ-o-foy	'not studying'
po:r-o-foy	'not coming'
pī:x-o-foy	'not going'
ko:ṇ-o-foy	'not looking'
öšt-o-foy	'not telling'
tīn-o-foy	'not eating'
kaṛ-o-foy	'not milking'

naṛ-o-foy	'not walking'
kaṛ-o-foy	'not churning'
kīy-o-θ	'without doing'
pint-o-θ	'without asking'
pī:x-o-θ	'without going'
po:r-o-θ	'without coming'
uṇ-o-θ	'without drinking'
öšt-o-θ	'without telling'
kar̠-o-θ	'without milking'
par-o-θ	'without writing'
a:foṛ-o-θ	'without talking'
kaṯ-o-θ	'without learning'
kīyofoy kelc	'work which is not done'
kar̠ofoy īr	'buffalo which is not milked'
kaṛofoy moj	'butermilk which is not churned'
tīnofoy twī:r̠	'food which is not eaten'
pu:fofoy pu:txuṯy	'cloak which is not worn'
po:y iloθ	'without having mouth'
mīs̠ iloθ	'without having breast'
īr iloθ	'without having buffalo'
po:r–o–en-i (2.53) —> *po:reni*	'I did not come'
po:r-o–īy-i (2.53) —> *po:rīyi*	'he/they did not come'

wī:ḍ-o en-i (2.53) —> *wī:ḍeni*
'I did not run'

wī:ḍ-o-im-i (2.53) —> *wī:ḍimi*
'we (excl.) did not run'

wī:ḍ-o-um-i (2.53) —> *wī:ḍumi*
'we (incl.) did not run'

wī:ḍ-o-īy-i (2.53) —> *wī:ḍīyi*
'They did not run'

nīl-o-en-i (2.53) —> *nīleni*
'I did not stand'

nīl-o-im-i (2.53) —> *nīlimi*
'we (excl.) did not stand'

nīl-o-um-i (2.53) —> *nīlumi*
'we (incl.) did not stand'

nīl-o-š-i (2.53) —> *nīlši*
'you (pl.) did not stand'

kīy-o-en-i (2.53) —> *kīyeni*
'I did not do (work)'

kīy-o-im-i (2.53) —> *kīyimi*
'we (excl.) did not do'

kīy-o-um-i (2.53) —> *kīyumi*
'we (incl.) did not do'

kīy-o-š-i (2.53) —> *kīyši*
'you (pl.) did not do'

po:r-o-p-i —> *po:ropi* 'you did not come (sg.)'

po:r-o-t-i —> *po:roti* 'he/she did not come'

wī:ḍ-o-p-i —> *wī:ḍopi* 'you did not run (sg.)'

wī:ḍ-o-t-i —> *wī:ḍoti* 'he did not run'
kīy-o-p-i —> *kīyopi* 'you did not do'
kīy-o-t-i —> *kīyoti* 'he/they did not do'
nīl-o·-p-i —> *nīlopi* 'you did not stand'
nīl-o-t-i —> *nīloti* 'they did not stand'

4.6. Desiderative

S_1— Desi -Pron. Sfx– Decl. Sfx

{ *-še-* }

~ *-še-*

4.6.1. ~ *-še-* occurs after the verbal base (S_1)

Ex. *kīy-še-pin-i* —> *kīyšepini*
'I would like to do'

nīl-še-pin-i —> *nīlšepini*
'I would like to stand'

pī:x-še-pin-i —> *pī:xšepini*
'I would like to go'

tīn-še-pin-i —> *tīnšepini*
'I would like to eat'

paš-še-pin-i (2.18) —> *pašepini*
'I would like to come'

taš-še-pin-i (2.18) —> *tašepini*
'I would like to give'

kaṯ-še-pin-i —> *kaṯšepini*
'I would like to learn'

ürp-še-pin-i —> *ürpšepini*
'I would like to play (puxury)'

4.7. Dubitative

S_1— Dub -Pron. Sfx- Decl. Sfx.

{ -*š*- }

~ -*š*-

4.7.1. ~ -*š*- occurs after the verbal base (S_1)

Ex. *nīl-š-pin-i*	—>	*nīlšpini*	'I may stand'
kīy-š-pin-i	—>	*kīyšpini*	'I may do'
tīn-š-pin-i	—>	*tīnšpini*	'I may eat'
ürp-š-pin-i	—>	*ürpšpini*	'I may play (puxury)'
par-š-pin-i	—>	*paršpini*	'I may write'
paš-š-pin-i (2.18)	—>	*pašpini*	'I may come'
taš-š-pin-i (2.18)	—>	*tašpini*	'I may give'

4.8. Voluntative[1]

S_1 -*k*- { 1 sg. / 1 pl. }

{ -*k*- }

~ -*k*-

4.8.1. ~ -*k*-

Ex. *kīy-k-in*	—>	*kīykin*	'I will do'
uṇ-k-in	—>	*uṇkin*	'I will drink'
nwī.ṭ-k-in	—>	*nwī:ṭkin*	'I will see'
öšṭ-k-in	—>	*öšṭkin*	'I will say'

1 A future tense which is usually voluntative.

paš-k-in	—>	*paškin*	'I will come'
taš-k-in	—>	*taškin*	'I will give'
nīl-k-in	—>	*nīlkin*	'I will stand'
tīn-k-in	—>	*tīnkin*	'I will eat'
kīy-k-im	—>	*kīykim*	'we (excl.) will do'
tīn-k-im	—>	*tīnkim*	'we (excl.) will eat'
uṇ-k-im	—>	*uṇkim*	'we (excl.) will drink'
nwī:ṭ-k-im	—>	*nwī:ṭkim*	'we (excl.) will look'
nīl-k-im	—>	*nīlkim*	'we (excl.) will stand'
öšt-k-um	—>	*öštkum*	'we (incl.) will say'
wī:ḍ-k-um	—>	*wī:ḍkum*	'we (incl.) will run'
nīl-k-um	—>	*nilkum*	'we (incl.) will stand'
nwī:ṭ-k-um	—>	*nwī:tkum*	'we (incl.) will see'
kīy-k-um	—>	*kīykum*	'we (incl.) will do'

4.9. Hortative

S_1-

{ *-mo:* }

~ *-mo:*

4.9.1. ~ *-mo:* occurs after the verbal base (S_1).

Ex. *öšt-mo:*	'let (someone) say'
pint-mo:	'let (someone) ask'
a:foṛ-mo:	'let (someone) talk'
kīy-mo:	'let (someone) do'
tīn-mo:	'let (someone) eat'
uṇ-mo:	'let (someone) drink'

nīl–mo: ‘let (someone) stand’

o:ḍ–mo ‘let (someone) dance’

nwī:ṭ–mo: ‘let (someone) see’

4.10. Permissive[1]

S_1–

$\left\{ -(k)u \right\}$

$\sim -(k)u$

4.10.1. $\sim$ -(*k*)*u* occurs after the verbal base (S_1).

Ex. *kīy–u*
kīy-ku ‘(one) may do’

tīn–u
tīn–ku ‘(one) may eat’

wī:ḍ–u
wī:ḍ–ku ‘(one) may run’

par–u
par–ku ‘(one) may write’

a:foṛ–u
a:foṛ–ku ‘(one) may talk’

ŏšt–u
ŏšt–ku ‘(one) may say’

nwī:ṭ–u
nwī:ṭ–ku ‘(one) may see’

---

1. In Kodagu language, permissive is formed by adding –*u* to the base: in certain places it is preceded by the formative suffix –*k*.

—*Dravidian Verb Morphology*, page 254

4.11. Imperative

4.11.1. *Singular*

S_1—

4.11.1.1. S_1 stem itself functions as the imperative.

Ex. *kīy*	'do'
nīl	'stand'
ke:ṭ	'hear'
ōšt	'tell'
wī:ḍ	'run'
uṇ	'drink'
tīn	'eat'

4.11.2. *Plural*

S_1—

{ -s̱ }

~ -s̱

4.11.2.1. ~ -s̱ occurs after the verbal base (S_1).

Ex. *nīl-s̱*				'stand'
tīn-s̱				'eat'
ōšt-s̱				'tell'
kīy-s̱	(2.14)	—>	*kīyš*	'do'
uṇ-s̱	(2.15)	—>	*uṇṣ*	'drink'
wī:ḍ-s̱	(2.15)	—>	*wī:ḍṣ*	'run'
naṛ-s̱	(2.15)	—>	*naṛṣ*	'walk'

4.12. Relative participle

$$\left\{ \begin{matrix} S_2 - \text{Tense} \\ S_1 - \text{Neg.} \end{matrix} \right\} -$$

$$\{ \textit{-foy} \}$$

$$\infty \text{-}\emptyset \quad \infty \text{-}\textit{foy}$$

4.12.1. ∞ -∅ occurs after tense suffix *-t*.

S_2— Tense—

Ex.	*kaṯ-t-∅*	—> *kaṯt*	'that is studying'
	pod–t-∅	—> *podt*	'that is coming'
	kīs–t-∅	—> *kīst*	'that is doing'
	uḍ–t–∅	—> *uḍt*	'that is drinking'
	pī:–t–∅	—> *pī:t*	'that is going'
	tīḏ–t–∅	—> *tīḏt*	'that is eating'
	püṣoḍə–t–∅	—> *püṣoḍət*	'that is calling,
	mu:neṯ–t–∅	—> *mu:neṯt*	'that is liking'
	nīḏ–t-∅	—> *nīḏt*	'that is standing'

podt mox	'boy who comes'
pi:t pö:ṟmox	'Tamil boy who comes'
īr paṯt o:ṯ	'person who catches buffalo'
kaṯt mox	'boy who reads'
paṟət ku:x	'girl who writes'

4.12.2. ∞ *-foy* occurs after tense suffix -∅ and negative suffix *-o*.

S_2— Tense—

Ex. *kaṯ–∅-foy* —> *kaṯfoy* 'studied'

kīs–ø-foy	—>	*kīsfoy*	'done'
naṛɵ–ø–foy	—>	*naṛɵfoy*	'walked'
pod–ø–foy	—>	*podfoy*	'came'
öšty–ø-foy (2.26)	—>	*öštfoy*	'told'
noky–ø–foy (2.26)	—>	*nokfoy*	'licked'
kaṟɵ–ø–foy	—>	*kaṟɵfoy*	'milked'
kaṛɵ–ø-foy	—>	*kaṛɵfoy*	'churned'
wī:ḍy–ø–foy (2.26)	—>	*wi:ḍfoy*	'run'
tīḏ–ø–foy	—>	*tīḏfoy*	'ate'
kaṛɵ-ø-foy	—>	*kaṛɵfoy*	'send'

S_1— Neg—

Ex. *pī:x–o–foy*	—>	*pī:xofoy*	'not going'
tīn–o-foy	—>	*tīnofoy*	'not eating'
nwī:ṭ-o–foy	—>	*nwī:ṭofoy*	'not seeing'
uṇ–o–fov	—>	*uṇofoy*	'not drinking'
kat̂–o-foy	—>	*kat̂ofoy*	'not studying'
kaṟ–o-foy	—>	*kaṟofoy*	'not milking'
kīy–o-foy	—>	*kīyofoy*	'not doing'
po:r-o–foy	—>	*po:rofoy*	'not coming'

podfoy ma:f	'Badaga who came'
kīsfoy kelc	'work which was done'
kaṟɵfoy īr	'buffalo which was milked'
kīyofoy kelc	'work which was not done'
pī:xofoy o:t̂	'person who did not go'

po:rofoy ars	'English man who did not come'
(poṇm) pīntofoy o:ṭ	'person who did not ask (money)'

4.13. Verbal participle

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} S_2\text{-Past} \\ S_1\text{-Neg.} \end{array} \right\} -$

$\left\{ -\theta \right\}$

$\infty -\theta \ \infty -\emptyset$

4.13.1. $\infty -\theta$ occurs after negative suffix *-o*.

S_1-Neg

Ex.	*kīy-o-θ*	—> *kīyoθ*	'without doing'
	pint-o-θ	—> *pintoθ*	'without asking'
	kaṟ-o-θ	—> *kaṟoθ*	'without milking'
	tīn-o-θ	—> *tīnoθ*	'without eating'
	uṇ-o-θ	—> *uṇoθ*	'without drinking'
	öšt-o-θ	—> *öštoθ*	'without saying'
	nwī:ṭ-o-θ	—> *nwī:ṭoθ*	'without seeing'
	nīl-o-θ	—> *nīloθ*	'without standing'
	püṣoḍ-o-θ	—> *püṣoḍoθ*	'without calling'
	pax-o-θ	—> *paxoθ*	'without dividing'
	kwīṟ-o-θ	—> *kwīṟoθ*	'without giving'

4.13.2. $\infty -\emptyset$ occurs elsewhere.

S_2-Past–

Ex. *pod-s-Ø* (2.42,49) —> *poz* 'having come'

kaṟə-s-ø	(2.41)	—>	*kaṟs*	'having milked'
kaṛə-s-ø	(2.41)	—>	*kaṛs*	'having churned'
koḍ-s-ø	(2.48,49)	—>	*koẓ*	'having seen'
puk-s-ø	(2.47)	—>	*pukṣ*	'having entered'
kwīṛt-s-ø	(2.41)	—>	*kwīṛs*	'having given'
aṭə-s-ø	(2.41)	—>	*aṭs*	'having measured'
tīd̲-s-ø	(2.44,49)	—>	*tīz̲*	'having eaten'
uḍ-s-ø	(2.48,49)	—>	*uẓ*	'having drunk'
tod-s-ø	(2.42,49)	—>	*toz*	'having given'
nīd̲-s-ø	(2.44,49)	—>	*nīz̲*	'having stood'
te:d̲-s-ø	(2.44,49)	—>	*te:z̲*	'having done'
nī:ḍ-s-ø	(2.48,49)	—>	*nī:ẓ*	'having peeped'
kīd̲y-s-ø	(2.26,46,49)	—>	*kīž̲*	'having sprinkled'
teṟə-s-ø	(2.41)	—>	*teṟs*	'having opened'

4.14. **Participal noun**

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} S_2\text{-} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Pres. tense} \\ \text{Past tense} \end{array} \right\} \\ S_1\text{- Neg.} \end{array} \right\} - \left\{ \text{-}\emptyset\text{-} \right\}$$

∞ -ø- ∞-*foy*

4.14.1. ∞ -ø occurs after tense suffix *-p* and before *o:ṭ*

Ex. *pod-p-ø-o:ṭ* —> *podpo:ṭ* 'person who comes'

kīs-p-ø-o:ṭ —> *kīspoṭ* 'person who does'

pi:-p-ø-o:ṭ —> *pi:po:ṭ* 'person who goes'

mo:ry-p-∅-o:ṭ	—>	*mo:rypo:ṭ*	'seller or person who sells'
uḍ-p-∅-o:ṭ	—>	*uḍpo:ṭ*	'person who drinks'
tīḏ-p-∅-o:ṭ	—>	*tīḏpo:ṭ*	'person who eats'
paṭy-p-∅-o:ṭ	—>	*paṭypoṭ*	'person who catches (buffalo)'
kaṟe-p-∅-o:ṭ	—>	*kaṟepo:ṭ*	'person who milks'
kaṛe-p-∅-o:ṭ	—>	*kaṛepo:ṭ*	'person who churns'
öšṭy-p-∅-o:ṭ	—>	*öšṭypo:ṭ*	'person who says'

4.14.2. ∞*-foy* occurs after tense suffix -∅, negative *-o-* and before *-o:ṭ*.

Ex. *pod-∅-foy-o:ṭ* —> *podfoyo:ṭ*
'person who came'

kīs-∅-foy-o:ṭ —> *kīsfoyo:ṭ*
'person who did (work)'

öšṭy-∅-foy-o:ṭ (2.26) —> *öšṭfoyoṭ*
'person who said'

uḍ-∅-foy-o:ṭ —> *uḍfoyo:ṭ*
'person who drank'

wī:ḍy-∅-foy-e:ṭ —> *wī:ḍfoyo:ṭ*
'person who ran'

a:foṭ-∅-foy-o:ṭ —> *a:foṭfoyo:ṭ*
'person who takled'

e:mo:ty-∅-foy-o:ṭ (2.26) —> *e:mo:tfoyo:ṭ*
'person who deceived'

naḍty-∅-foy-o:ṭ (2.26) —> *naḍtfoyo:ṭ*
'person who conducted'

nwī:ṭ-o-foy-o:ṯ	—>	*nwī:ṭofoyo:ṯ* 'person who did not see'
pī:x-o-foy-o:ṯ	—>	*pī:xofoyo:ṯ* 'person who did not go'
uṇ-o-foy-o:ṯ	—>	*uṇofoyo:ṯ* 'person who did not drink'
kīy-o-foy-o:ṯ	—>	*kīyofoyo:ṯ* 'person who did not do'
kaṯ-o-foy-o:ṯ	—>	*kaṯofoyo:ṯ* 'person who did not read'

4.15. Temporal

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} S_2\text{-tense} \\ S_1\text{-Neg.} \end{array} \right\}$ -

{ *-fok* }

~ *-fok*

4.15.1. ~ *-fok* occurs after tense marker -ø and after negative suffix -o .

Ex. *pod-ø-fok*	—>	*podfok*	'while coming'
nwī:ṭy-ø-fok (2.26)	—>	*nwī:ṭfok*	'while seeing'
wī:ḍy-ø-fok (2.26)	—>	*wī:ḍfok*	'while running'
kīs-ø-fok	—>	*kīsfok*	'while doing'
pi:-ø-fok	—>	*pi:fok*	'while going'
a:foṭ-ø-fok	—>	*a:foṭfok*	'while talking'
kwīṛt-ø-fok	—>	*kwīṛtfok*	'while giving'
parə-ø-fok	—>	*parəfok*	'while writing'

kaṭ-ø-fok	—>	*kaṭfok*	'while learning'
tīḏ-ø-fok	—>	*tīḏfok*	'while eating'
uḍ-ø-fok	—>	*uḍfok*	'while drinking'
nīḏ-ø-fok	—>	*nīḏfok*	'while standing'
kīy-o-fok	—>	*kīyofok*	'while not doing'
kaṛ-o-fok	—>	*kaṛfok*	'while not milking'
tīn-o-fok	—>	*tīnofok*	'while not eating'
uṇ-o-fok	—>	*uṇofok*	'while not drinking'
pī:x-o-fok	—>	*pī:xofok*	'while not going'
po:r-o-fok	—>	*po:rofok*	'while not coming'
netyš ko:s iṭtfok			'while keeping coins on forehead'
pīṣu:ṭfok			'while turning earth at funeral'
īrpaṭfok			'while catching the buffalo'

4.16. Verbal noun

S_2— tense— aux—

$\left\{ -t \right\}$

~ -ṭ

4.16.1. ~ -ṭ occurs after auxiliary verb *-fīḍ*.

Ex. *pod-ø-fiḍ-t*	—>	*podfīḍt*	'the act of coming'
pī:-ø-fīḍ-t	—>	*pi:fīḍt*	'the act of going'
öšty-ø-fīḍ-t (2.26)	—>	*öštfīḍt*	'the act of saying'
kīs-ø-fīḍ-t	—>	*kīsfīḍt*	'the act of doing'
nwī:ṭy-ø-fīḍ-t (2.26)	—>	*nwī:ṭfīḍt*	'the act of seeing'
uḍ-ø-fīḍ-t	—>	*uḍfīḍt*	'the act of drinking'

pinty-ø-fīḍ-t (2.26) —> *pintfīḍt*
'the act of asking'

naṟe-ø-fīḍ-t —> *naṟefīḍt* 'the act of walking'

ay o:ṯ ī:nk podfīḍṯ sariyilīyi
'His coming here is not good'

ni: am modk pī:fīḍt waḷīyi
'your going to that mund is not good'

4.17. **Negative$_2$**

Present-future negative[1 & 2]

S_2— aux.—
{ -o- }
∼ -o-

4.17.1. ∼ *-o-*

Ex. *pod-kīṣ-o-en-i* (2.53) —> *podkīṣeni*
'I will not come'

pod-kīṣ-o-īy-i (2.53) —> *podkīṣīyi*
'He will not come'

---

1. In present-future negative finite verbs, *kiṣ* 'be able' (S_1) is added to S_2 forms of verb.

2. In Toda both 'I will not come', 'I will not be able to come' are expressed by one and the same form *podkīṣeni*. In certain circumstances, *enna:l po:ka muṭiya:tu* 'I will not be able to go' is also used just denote 'I will not go'. Professor. S. Agesteialingom has dealt with future in Tamil in his paper entitled "*Modality in Tamil*",
—S. Agesthialingom, "*Modality in Tamil*" Second All India Conference of Linguists, Delhi-1971

pi:-kīs-o-īy-i (2.53) —> *pi:kīsīyi* 'He will not go'

tīd-kīs-o-en-i (2.53) —> *tīdkīseni* 'I will not eat'

tīd-kīs-o-īy-i (2.53) —> *tīdkīsīyi* 'He will not eat'

ud-kīs-o-en-i (2.53) —> *udkīšeni* 'I will not drink'

ud-kīs-o-īy-i (2.53) —> *udkīsīyi* 'He will not drink'

öšty-kīs-o-eni (2.26,53) —> *öštkīsīyi* 'I will not say'

öšty-kīs-o-īy-i (2.26,53) —> *öštkīselī* 'He will not say'

nwī:ty-kīs-o-en-i (2.26,53) —> *nwī:tkīseni* 'I will not see'

nwī:ty-kīs-o-īy-i (2.26,53) —> *nwī:tkīsīyi* 'He will not see'

pod-kīs-o-p-i —> *podkīsopi* 'you will not come'

tīd-kīs-o-p-i —> *tīdkīsopi* 'you will not eat'

pī-kīs-o-p-i —> *pi:kīsopi* 'you will not go'

ud-kīs-o-p-i —> *udkīsopi* 'you will not drink'

öšty-kīs-o-p-i (2.26) —> *öštkīsopi* 'you will not say'

nwī:ty-kīs-o-p-i (2.26) —> *nwī:tkīsopi* 'you will not see'

4.18. Personal suffixes

$\left\{\begin{array}{l} S_2 — \text{Tense} \\ S_1 — \text{Neg.} \end{array}\right\}$ —

4.18.1. *First person singular*

{ *-pin-* }

∞ *-pin* ∞ *-pen* ∞ *-n* ∞ *-in* ∞ *-en*

4.18.1.1. ∞ *-pin-* occurs after present tense and past tense suffixes in declaratives.

Ex. *pod-∅-pin-i*[1]		—>	*podpini*	'come-I'
tīd̲-∅-pin-i		—>	*tīd̲pini*	'eat-I'
koḍ-∅-pin-i		—>	*koḍpini*	'look-I'
kīd-∅-pin-i		—>	*kīdpini*	'sprinkle-I
kar̲ə-∅-pin-i		—>	*kar̲əpini*	'milk-I'
te:d̲-∅-pin-i		—>	*te:d̲pini*	'do (work)-I'
sö:d-∅-pin-i		—>	*sö:dpini*	'arrive-I'
ud-∅-pin-i		—>	*udpini*	'smear-I'
ni:ḍ-∅-pin-i		—>	*ni:ḍpini*	'peep over-I'
pod-s-pin-i	(2.42,49)	—>	*pozpini*	'came-I'
tīd̲-s-pin-i	(2.44,49)	—>	*tīz̲pini*	'ate-I'
koḍ-ṣ-pin-i	(2.48,49)	—>	*koẓpini*	'looked-I'
kīdy-s-pin-i	(2.26,46,49)	—>	*kīžpini*	'sprinkled-I'
kar̲ə-s-pin-i	(2.41)	—>	*kar̲spini*	'milked-I,
te:d̲-s-pin-i	(2.44,49)	—>	*te:z̲pini*	'did (work)-I'
sö:d-s-pin-i	(2.42,49)	—>	*sö:zpini*	'arrived-I'
ud-s-pin-i	(2.42,49)	—>	*uzpini*	'smeared-I'
nī:ḍ-s-pin-i	(2.48,49)	—>	*nī:ẓpini*	'peeped over-I'

1. *i* is segmented as declarative suffix.

uḍ-s-pin-i	(2.48,49)	—>	*uẓpini* 'drank-I'
naṛə-s-pin-i	(2.41)	—>	*naṛspini* 'walked-I'
mu:neṯ-s-pin-i	(2.43,49)	—>	*mu:neṣpini* 'liked-I'

4 18 1 2. ∞-*pen* occurs after tense marker when it is followed by interrogative.

Ex. *pi:-∅-pen*	—>	*pi:pen*	'go-I'
pod-∅-pen	—>	*podpen*	'come-I'
tīḏ-∅-pen	—>	*tīḏpen*	'eat-I'
uḍ-∅-pen	—>	*uḍpen*	'drink-I'
kīs̱-∅-pen	—>	*kīspen*	'do-I'
nwī:ṯ-∅-pen	—>	*nwī:ṯpen*	'look-I'
kaṛə-∅-pen	—>	*kaṛəpen*	'milk-I'
püṣoḍə-∅-pen	—>	*püṣoḍəpen*	'call-I'
naṛə-∅-pen	—>	*naṛəpen*	'walk-I'

pod-s-pen	(2.42,49)	—>	*pozpen*	'came-I'
tīḏ-s-pen	(2.44,49)	—>	*tīẓpen*	'ate-I'
uḍ-s-pen	(2.48,49)	—>	*uẓpen*	'drank-I'
nwī:ṯy-s-pen	(2.26,47,49)	—>	*nwī:ṣpen*	'looked-I'
kaṛə-s-pen	(2.41)	—>	*kaṛspen*	'milked-I'
püṣoḍə-s-pen	(2.41)	—>	*püṣoḍspen*	'called-I'
naṛə-s-pen	(2.41)	—>	*naṛspen*	'walked-I'

4.18.1.3. ∞ *-n* occurs after tense marker when it is preceded by interrogative

Ex. *pi:-∅-n*		—>	*pi:n*	'go-I'
pod-∅-n		—>	*podn*	'come-I'
tīd̲-∅-n		—>	*tīd̲n*	'eat-I'
uḍ-∅-n	(2.17)	—>	*uḍṇ*	'drink-I'
o:ḍ-∅-n	(2 17)	—>	*o:ḍṇ*	'dance-I'
nwī:ṭy-∅-n		—>	*nwī:ṭyn*	'look-I'
kar̲ə-∅-n		—>	*kar̲ən*	'milk-I'
püṣoḍə-∅-n		—>	*püṣoḍən*	'call-I'
naṛə-∅-n		—>	*naṛən*	'walk-I'
pi:-s-n	(2 45)	—>	*pi:šn*	'went-I'
pod-s-n	(2.42,49)	—>	*pozn*	'came-I'
tīd̲-s-n	(2.44,49)	—>	*tīz̲n*	'ate-I'
uḍ-s-n	(2.48,49,17)	—>	*uẓṇ*	'drank-I'
o:ḍ-s-n	(2 48,49,17)	—>	*o:ẓṇ*	'danced-I'
nwī:ṭy-s-n	(2.26,47,49,17)	—>	*nwī:ṣṇ*	'looked-I'
kar̲ə-s-n	(2.41)	—>	*kar̲sn*	'milked-I'
püṣoḍə-s-n	(2 41)	—>	*püṣoḍsn*	'called-I'
naṛə-s-n	(2.41)	—>	*naṛsn*	'walked-I'

4.18.1.4. ∞ *-in* occurs after voluntative suffix *-k*.

Ex. *kīy-k-in*	—>	*kīykin*	'I will do'
tīn-k-in	—>	*tīnkin*	'I will eat'
nīl k-in	—>	*nīlkin*	'I will stand'
paš-k-in	—>	*paškin*	'I will come'
taš-k-in	—>	*taškin*	'I will give'

uṇ-k-in	—>	*uṇkin*	'I will drink'
nwī:ṭ-k-in	—>	*nwī:ṭkin*	'I will see'
ōšt-k-in	—>	*ōštkin*	'I will say'
kwīṛ-k-in	—>	*kwīṛkin*	'I will give'
ürp-k-in	—>	*ürpkin*	'I will play (puxury)'
pī:x-k-in	—>	*pī:xkin*	'I will go'
teṛ-k-in	—>	*teṛkin*	'I will open'

4.18.1.5. ∞ *en-* occurs (1) after tense and before conditional suffix *-wīṛ* and (2) after the negative and before declarative suffix *-i*.

Ex.	*pod-∅-en-wīṛ*	—>	*podenwīṛ*	'If I come'
	pī:-∅-en-wīṛ	—>	*pi:enwīṛ*	'If I go'
	naṛe-∅-en-wīṛ	—>	*naṛeenwīṛ*	'If I walk'
	kīs-∅-en-wīṛ	—>	*kīsenwīṛ*	'If I do'

po:r-o-en-i	(2.53)	—>	*po:reni* 'I did not come'
pī:x-o-en-i	(2.53)	—>	*pī:xeni* 'I did not go'
tīn-o-en-i	(2.53)	—>	*tīneni* 'I did not eat'
uṇ-o-en-i	(2.53)	—>	*uṇeni* 'I did not drink'
kīy-o-en-i	(2.53)	—>	*kīyeni* 'I did not go'
nīl-o-en-i	(2.53)	—>	*nīleni* 'I did not stand'

kaṯ-o-en-i	(2.53)	—>	*kaṯeni* 'I did not read'
öšt-o-en-i	(2.53)	—>	*öšteni* 'I did not say'
pint-o-en-i	(2.53)	—>	*pinteni* 'I did not ask'
podkīs̱-o-en-i	(2.53)	—>	*podkīs̱eni* 'I will not come'
pi:kīs̱-o-en-i	(2.53)	—>	*pi:kīs̱eni* 'I will not go'
tīḏkīs̱-o-en-i	(2.53)	—>	*tīḏkīs̱eni* 'I will not eat'
uḍkīs̱-o-en-i	(2.53)	—>	*uḍkīs̱eni* 'I will not drink'
öštkīs̱-o-en-i	(2.53)	—>	*öštkīs̱eni* 'I will not say'
wī:ḍkīs̱-o-en-i	(2.53)	—>	*wī:ḍkīs̱eni* 'I will not run'
parəkīs̱-o-en-i	(2.53)	—>	*parəkīs̱eni* 'I will not write'
nīḏkīs̱-o-en-i	(2.53)	—>	*nīḏkīs̱eni* 'I will not stand'

First person plural (excl.)

{ *-pim-* }

∞ *-pim* ∞ *-pem* ∞ *-m* ∞ *im* ∞ *-em*

4.18.1.6. ∞ *-pim-* occurs after the tense in declarative.

Ex. *tīḏ-∅-pim-i*	—>	*tīḏpimi*	'eat-we (excl.)'
pīṯ-∅ pim-i	—>	*pīṯpimi*	'carry-we (excl.)'
koḍ-∅-pim-i	—>	*koḍpimi*	'look-we (excl.)'
twa:nt-∅-pim-i	—>	*twa:ntpimi*	'sweep-we (excl.)'
nīḏ-∅-pim-i	—>	*nīḏpimi*	'stand-we (excl.)'
pi:-∅-pim-i	—>	*pi:pimi*	'go-we (excl.)'
uḍ-∅-pim-i	—>	*uḍpimi*	'drink-we (excl.)'
pod-∅-pim-i	—>	*podpimi*	'come-we (excl.)'

tīḏ-s-pim-i	(2.44,49)	—>	*tīẕpimi* 'ate-we (excl.)'
pod-s-pim-i	(2.42,49)	—>	*pozpimi* 'came-we (excl.)'
koḍ-s-pim-i	(2.48,49)	—>	*koẓpimi* 'looked-we (excl.)'
uḍ-s-pim-i	(2.48,49)	—>	*uẓpimi* 'drank-we (excl.)'
nīḏ-s-pīm-i	(2.44.49)	—>	*nīẕpimi* 'stood-we (excl.)'

4.18.1.7. ∞ *-pem* occurs after tense when it is followed by interrogative.

Ex *pi:-∅-pem*	—>	*pi:pem*	'go-we'
pod-∅-pem	—>	*podpem*	'come-we'
tīḏ-∅-pem	—>	*tīḏpem*	'eat-we'
uḍ-∅-pem	—>	*uḍpem*	'drink-we'
nwī:ṯ-∅-pem	—>	*nwī:ṯpem*	'look-we'

o:ḍ-∅-pem	—>	*o:ḍpem*	'dance-we'
öšt-∅-pem	—>	*öštpem*	'say-we'
pod-s-pem	(2.42,49) —>	*pozpem*	'came-we'
tīd̲-s-pem	(2.44,49) —>	*tīẓpem*	'ate-we'
uḍ-s-pem	(2.48,49) —>	*uẓpem*	'drank-we'
nwī:ṭy-s-pem	(2.26,47,49) —>	*nwī:ṣpem*	'looked-we'

4.18.1.8. ∞ *-m* occurs after tense marker when it is preceded by interrogative

Ex. *pi:-∅-m*		—>	*pi:m*	'go-we'
pod-∅-m		—>	*podm*	'come-we
tīd̲-∅-m		—>	*tīd̲m*	'eat-we'
uḍ-∅-m		—>	*uḍm*	'drink-we'
nwī:ṭ-∅-m		—>	*nwī:ṭm*	'look-we'
pod-s-m	(2.42,49)	—>	*pozm*	'came-we'
tīd̲-s-m	(2.44,49)	—>	*tīẓm*	'ate-we'
uḍ-s-m	(2.48,49)	—>	*uẓm*	'drank-we'
nwī:ṭy-s-m	(2.26,47,49)	—>	*nwī:ṣm*	'looked-we'

4.18.1.9. ∞ *-im* occurs after voluntative suffix *-k*.

Ex. *kīy-k-im*	—>	*kīykim*	'we will do (excl.)'
öšt-k-im	—>	*öštkim*	'we will say (excl.)'
nwī:ṭ-k-im	—>	*nwī:ṭkim*	'we will look (excl.)'
paš-k-im	—>	*paškim*	'we will come (excl.)'

taš-k-im	—>	*taškim*	'we will give (excl.)'
naṛ-k-im	—>	*naṛkim*	'we will walk(excl.)'
uṇ-k-im	—>	*uṇkim*	'we will drink (excl.)'
aṭ-k-im	—>	*aṭkim*	'we will measure (excl.)'

4.18.1.10. ∞ *-em-* occurs after tense when it is followed the conditional marker and it also occurs after the negative and before declarative suffix *-i*

Ex. *pod-∅-em-wīṛ* —> *podemwīṛ* 'if we come'

pi:-∅-em-wīṛ —> *pi:emwīṛ* 'if we go'

naṛə-∅-em-wīṛ —> *naṛəemwīṛ* 'if we walk'

pī:x-o-em-i (2.53) —> *pī:xemi* 'we did not go'

tīn-o-em-i (2.53) —> *tīnemi* 'we did not eat'

uṇ-o-em-i (2.53) —> *uṇemi* 'we did not drink'

kīy-o-em-i (2.53) —> *kīyemi* 'we did not do'

nīl-o-em-i (2.53) —> *nīlemi* 'we did not stand'

par-o-em-i (2.53) —> *paremi* 'we did not write'

kaṭ-o-em-i (2.53) —> *kaṭemi* 'we did not learn'

naṛ-o-em-i (2 53) —> *naṛemi* 'we did not walk'

kwīṛ-o-em-i (2.53) —> *kwīṛemi* 'we did not give'

podkīs̱-o-em-i (2.53) —> *podkīs̱emi* 'we will not come'

tīḏkīs̱-o-em-i (2.53) —> *tīḏkīs̱emi* 'we will not eat'

uḍkīs̱-o-em-i (2.53) —> *uḍkīs̱emi* 'we will not drink'

nīḏkīs̱-o-em-i (2.53) —> *nīḏkīs̱emi* 'we will not stand'

pi:kīs̱-o-em-i (2.53) —> *pi:kīs̱emi* 'we will not go'

ōštkīs̱-o-em-i (2.53) —> *ōštkīs̱emi* 'we will not say'

wī:ḍkīs̱-o-em-i (2.53) —> *wī:ḍkīs̱emi* 'we will not run'

First person plural (incl.)

{ *-pum-* }

∞-*pum-* ∞-*m* ∞-*um*

4.18.1.11 ∞-*pum-* occurs after tense in declaratives and also occurs after tense when it is followed by interrogative.

Ex. *tīḏ-∅-pum-i* —> *tīḏpumi* 'eat-we (incl.)'

pīt-∅-pum-i —> *pītpumi* 'sow (seed)-we (incl.)'

koḍ-∅-pum-i —> *koḍpumi* 'look-we (incl.)'

nīḏ-∅-pum-i —> *nīḏpumi* 'stand-we (incl.)'

pod-∅-pum-i —> *podpumi* 'come-we (incl.)'

naṛe-∅-pum-i —> *naṛepumi* 'walk-we (incl.)'

aṭe–∅-pum-i —> *aṭepumi* 'measure-we (incl.)'

kwīrt–∅-pum-i —> *kwīṛtpumi* 'give-we'

kaṯ-∅-pum-i —> *kaṯpumi* 'learn-we'

pi:–∅-pum-i —> *pi:pumi* 'go-we'

tīḏ-s-pum-i (2.44,49) —> *tīẓpumi* 'ate-we'

koḍ-s-pum-i (2.48,49) —> *koẓpumi* 'looked-we'

nīḏ-s-pum-i (2.44,49) —> *niẓpumi* 'stood-we'

pod-s-pum-i (2.42,49) —> *pozpumi* 'came-we'

naṛe-s-pum-i (2.41) —> *naṛspumi* 'walked-we'

kwīṛt-s-pum-i (2.41) —> *kwīṛspumi* 'gave-we'

pi:-∅-pum —> *pi:pum* 'go-we'

pod-∅-pum —> *podpum* 'come-we'

tīḏ-∅-pum —> *tīḏpum* 'eat-we'

uḍ-∅-pum —> *uḍpum* 'drink-we'

nwī:ṭ-∅-pum —> *nwī:ṭpum* 'look-we'

pod-s-pum (2.42,49) —> *pozpum* 'came-we'

tīḏ-s-pum (2.44,49) —> *tīẓpum* 'ate-we'

uḍ-s-pum (2.48,49) —> *uẓpum* 'drank-we'

nwī:ṭy-s-pum (2.26,47,49) —> *nwī:ṣpum* 'looked-we'

4.18 1.12. ∞ *-m* occurs after tense when it is preceded by interrogative.

Ex. *pi:-Ø-m*	—>	*pi:m*	'go-we'
pod-Ø-m	—>	*podm*	'come-we'
tīḏ-Ø-m	—>	*tīḏm*	'eat-we'
uḍ-Ø-m	—>	*uḍm*	'drink-we'
nwī:ṭy-Ø-m	—>	*nwī:ṭym*	'look-we'
kaṟə-Ø-m	—>	*kaṟəm*	'milk-we'
püṣoḍə-Ø-m	—>	*püṣoḍəm*	'call-we'

pod-s-m	(2.42,49)	—>	*pozm* 'came-we'
tīḏ-s-m	(2.44,49)	—>	*tīẕm* 'ate-we'
uḍ-s-m	(2.48,49)	—>	*uẓm* 'drank-we'
nwī:ṭy-s-m	(2·26,47,49)	—>	*nwī:ṣm* 'looked-we'
kaṟə-s-m	(2.41)	—>	*kaṟsm* 'milked-we'
püṣoḍə-s-m	(2.41)	—>	*püṣoḍsm* 'called-we'

4.18.1.13. ∞ *-um-* occurs after present-future and past negative marker and occurs after voluntative suffix *-k* and also occurs after tense suffix when it is followed by conditional marker *-wīṟ*.

Ex. *podkīẕ-o-um-i* (2.53) —> *podkīẕumi*
'we will not come'

tīḏkīs̱-o-um-i	(2.53)	—>	*tīḏkīs̱umi* 'we will not eat'
uḍkīs̱-o-um-i	(2.53)	—>	*uḍkīs̱umi* 'we will not drink'
nīḏkīs̱-o-um-i	(2.53)	—>	*nīḏkīs̱umi* 'we will not stand'
öštkīs̱-o-um-i	(2.53)	—>	*öštkīs̱umi* 'we will not say'
po:r-o-um-i	(2.53)	—>	*po:rumi* 'we did not come'
kīy-o-um-i	(2.53)	—>	*kīyumi* 'we did not do'
nīl-o-um-i	(2.53)	—>	*nīlumi* 'we did not stand'
naṛ-o-um-i	(2.53)	—>	*naṛumi* 'we did not walk'
wī:ḍ-o-um-i	(2.53)	—>	*wī:ḍumi* 'we did not run'

kīy-k-um	—>	*kīykum*	'we will do'
uṇ-k-um	—>	*uṇkum*	'we will drink'
öšt-k-um	—>	*öštkum*	'we will say'
naṛ-k-um	—>	*naṛkum*	'we will walk'
pod-∅-um-wīṛ	—>	*podumwīṛ*	'If we come'
pi:-∅-um-wīṛ	—>	*pi:umwīṛ*	'If we go'
naṛe-∅-um-wīṛ	—>	*naṛeumwīṛ*	'If we walk'

4.18.2. *Second person singular*

{ -p- }

∞ *-p-* ∞ *-py* ∞ *-ty* ∞ *-y* ∞ *-ṭ*

4.18.2.1. ∞ *-p-* occurs after tense and negative suffix.

Ex. *pod-∅-p-i*		—>	*podpi*	'come-you (Sg)'
tīḏ-∅-p-i		—>	*tīḏpi*	'eat-you'
pi:-∅-p-i		—>	*pi:pi*	'go-you'
nīḏ-∅-p-i		—>	*nīḏpi*	'stand-you'
pīt-∅-p-i		—>	*pītpi*	'sow-you'
naṛe-∅-p-i		—>	*naṛepi*	'walk-you'
pod-s-p-i	(2.42,49)	—>	*pozpi*	'came-you'
tīḏ-s-p-i	(2.44,49)	—>	*tīẕpi*	'ate-you'
nīḏ-s-p-i	(2.44,49)	—>	*nīẕpi*	'stood-we'
pīty-s-p-i	(2.26,45,49)	—>	*pīšpi*	'sowed-you'
naṛe-s-p-i	(2.41)	—>	*naṛspi*	'walked-you'
po:r-o-p-i		—>	*po:ropi*	'you did not come'
nīl-o-p-i		—>	*nīlopi*	'you did not stand'
tīn-o-p-i		—>	*tīnopi*	'you did not eat'
uṇ-o-p-i		—>	*uṇopi*	'you did not drink'
wī:ḍ-o-p-i		—>	*wī:ḍopi*	'you did not run'
öšt-o-p-i		—>	*öštopi*	'you did not say'
a:foṛ-o-p-i		—>	*a:foṛopi*	'you did not talk'
par-o-p-i		—>	*paropi*	'you did not write'
kīy-o-p-i		—>	*kīyopi*	'you did not do'
oj-o-p-i		—>	*ojopi*	'you did not fear'
püṣoḍ-o-p-i		—>	*püṣoḍopi*	'you did not call'
kaṟ-o-p-i		—>	*kaṟopi*	'you did not milk'
teṟ-o-p-i		—>	*teṟopi*	'you did not open'

4.18.2.2. ∞-*py* occurs after tense when it is followed by interrogative.

Ex.	*pi:-Ø-py*		—> *pi:py*	'go-you'
	pod-Ø-py		—> *podpy*	'come-you'
	tīḏ-Ø-py		—> *tīḏpy*	'eat-you'
	uḍ-Ø-py		—> *uḍpy*	'drink-you'
	o:ḍ-Ø-py		—> *o:ḍpy*	'play-you'
	kīs-Ø-py		—> *kīspy*	'do-you'
	nwī:ṭy-Ø-py		—> *nwīṭypy*	'look-you'
	pod-s-py	(2.42.49)	—> *pozpy*	'came-you'
	tīḏ-s-py	(2.44,49)	—> *tīẓpy*	'ate-you'
	uḍ-s-py	(2.48.49)	—> *uẓpy*	'drank-you'
	o:ḍ-s-py	(2,48,49)	—> *o:ẓpy*	'played-you'
	nwī:ṭy-s-py	(2.26,47,49)	—> *nwī:ṣpy*	'looked-you'

4.18.2.3. ∞-*ty* occurs after tense when it is preceded by interrogative.

Ex.	*pi:-Ø-ty*	—> *pi:ty*	'go-you'
	pod-Ø-ty	—> *podty*	'come-you'
	tīḏ-Ø-ty	—> *tīḏty*	'eat-you'
	uḍ-Ø-ty	—> *uḍty*	'drink-you'
	par-Ø-ty	—> *party*	'write-you'
	kīs-Ø-ty	—> *kīsty*	'do-you'
	o:ḍ-Ø-ty	—> *o:ḍty*	'play-you'
	nwī:ṭ-Ø-ty	—> *nwī:ṭty*	'look-you'
	kaṟe-Ø-ty	—> *kaṟety*	'milk-you'
	pūṣoḍe-Ø-ty	—> *pūṣoḍety*	'call-you'

4.18.2.4. ∞-*y*- occurs after tense and before conditional suffix -*wīr̥*.

Ex.	*pod-∅-y-wīr̥* —>	*podywīr̥*	'if you come'
	īd̲-∅-y-wīr̥ —>	*īd̲ywīr̥*	'if you say'
	pi:-∅-y-wīr̥ —>	*pi:ywīr̥*	'if you go'

4.18.2.5. ∞-*ṭ*- occurs after prohibitive suffix -*o*

Ex.	*pod-o-ṭ-i* —>	*podoṭi*	'do not come-you'
	tīd̲-o-ṭ-i —>	*tīd̲oṭi*	'do not eat'
	uḍ-o-ṭ-i —>	*uḍoṭi*	'do not drink'
	nar̥ə-o-ṭ-i —>	*nar̥əoṭi*	'do not walk'
	nwī:ṭy-o-ṭ-i —>	*nwī:ṭyoṭi*	'do not look'
	kwīḍ-o-ṭ-i —>	*kwīḍoṭi*	'do not quarrel'
	ko:ṭ-o-ṭ-i —>	*ko:ṭoṭi*	'do not show'
	wī:rīṭ-o-ṭ-i —>	*wī:rīṭoṭi*	'do not listern'

Second person plural-

{ -*tš*- }

∞-*tš*, ~*š* ∞-*š* ∞-*ṣ*

4.18.2.6. ∞-*tš* occurs after tense in declaratives and it occurs after tense when it is followed and preceded by interrogative. It is free variation with -*š*

Ex.	*tīd̲-∅-tš-i* —>	*tīd̲tši*	'eat-you (pl.)'
	koḍ-∅-tš-i —>	*koḍtši*	'look-you'
	kark-∅-tš-i —>	*karktši*	'melt-you'
	pod-∅-tš-i —>	*podtši*	'con.e-you'

sö:d-ø-tš-i	—>	*sö:dtši*	'arrive-you'
nīḏ-ø-tš-i	—>	*nīḏtši*	'stand-you'
te:ḏ-ø-tš-i	—>	*te:ḏtši*	'do (work)-you'
ni:ḍ-ø-tš-i	—>	*ni:ḍtši*	'peepover-you'
uḍ-ø-tš-i	—>	*uḍtši*	'drink' -you'
teškwīḍ-ø-tš-i	—>	*teškwīḍtši*	'hug-you'
kīdə-ø-tš-i	—>	*kīdtši*	'sprinkle-you'
pi:-ø-tš	—>	*pi:tš*	'go-you'
pod-ø-tš ~	—>	*podtš*	
pod-ø-š	—>	*podš*	'come-you'
tīḏ-ø-ts~	—>	*tīḏtš*	
tīḏ-ø-š	—>	*tīḏš*	'eat-you'
kīs-ø-tš	—>	*kīstš*	'do-you'
nwī:ṭ-ø-tš	—>	*nwī:ṭtš*	'look-you'
kaṟə-ø-tš	—>	*kaṟətš*	'milk-you'
naṛə-ø-tš	—>	*naṛətš*	'walk-you'

4.18.2.7. ∞ -*š*- occurs after negative.

Ex. *po:r-o-š-i* (2.53.) —> *po:rši*
'you did not come'

kīy-o-š-i (2.53) —> *kīyši*
'you did not do'

öšt-o-š-i (2.53) —> *öštši*.
'you did not say'

par-o-š-i (2.53) —> *parši*
'you did not write'

kaṯ-o-š-i (2.53) —> *kaṯši*
'you did not learn'

wī:ḍ-o-š-i	(2.53)	—>	*wī:ḍši* 'you did not run'
nīl-o-š-i	(2.53)	—>	*nīlši* 'you did not stand'
naṛ-o-š-i	(2.53)	—>	*naṛši* 'you did not walk'
poṛ-o-š-i	(2.53)	—>	*poṛši* 'you did not lie down'
pī:x-o-š-i	(2.53)	—>	*pī:xši* 'you did not go'
pint-o-š-i	(2.53)	—>	*pintši* 'you did not ask'
tīn-o-š-i	(2.53)	—>	*tīnši* 'you did not eat'

4.18.2.18. ∞ -s̱- occurs after prohibitive suffix *-o*.

Ex. *pod-o-s̱-i*	—>	*podos̱i*	'do not come-you (pl.)'
pint-o-s̱-i	—>	*pintos̱i*	'do not ask'
tīd̲-o-s̱-i	—>	*tid̲os̱i*	'do not eat'
poṭ-o-s̱-i	—>	*poṭos̱i*	'do not lie down'
püṣoḍe-o-s̱-i	—>	*püṣoḍeos̱i*	'do not call'

4.18.3. *Third person*

Singular and plural

{ *-t-* }

∞ *-t-* ∞ *-u* ∞ *-k* ∞ *-n*

4.18.3.1. ∞ *-t-* occurs (1) after tense in declaratives and occurs when it is followed by interrogative and (2) also occurs after negative suffix and it is in free variation with *-īy* in negative.

Ex. *tīḏ-∅-t-i* —> *tīḏti* 'eats–he/she/it eat–they'

pi:-∅-t-i —> *pi:ti* 'goes–he/she/it go–they'

koḍ-∅-t-i —> *koḍti* 'looks–he/she/it look–they'

pod-∅-t-i —> *podti* 'comes–he/she/it come–they'

nīḏ-∅-t-i —> *nīḏti* 'stands–he/she/it stand–they'

kīs-∅-t-i —> *kīsti* 'does–he/she/it do–they'

pīṯ-∅-t-i —> *pīṯti* 'carries–he/she carry–they'

wī:ṯ-∅-t-i —> *wī:ṯti* 'drives (calf)–he/she drive–they'

ko:ṭ-∅-t-i —> *ko:ṭti* 'shows–he/she show–they'

kuṭ-∅-t-i —> *kuṭti* 'pounds–she pound–they'

o:ṛ-∅-t-i —> *o:ṛti* 'weeps–he/she weep–they'

pi:-s-t-i (2.45,50) —> *pi:či* 'went–he/she/it/they'

e:mo:ty–s–t–i (2.26,45,49,50) —> *e:mo:či*
'deceived–he/she/they'

püṣoḍə–s–t–i (2.41,50) —> *püṣoḍči*
'called–he/she/they'

parə–s–t–i (2.41,50) —> *parči*
'wrote–he/she/they'

pi:–∅–t —> *pi:t* 'goes–he/she
go–they'

pod–∅–t —> *podt* 'comes–he/she
come–they'

tīd̲–∅–t —> *tīd̲t* 'eats–he/she/it
eat–they'

uḍ–∅–t —> *uḍt* 'drinks–he/she
drink–they'

o:ḍ–∅–t —> *o:ḍt* 'dances–he
dance–they'

kīs–∅–ṭ —> *kīst* 'does–he/she
do–they'

nwī:ṭ–∅–t —> *nwī:ṭt* 'looks–he/she
look–they'

kar̲ə–∅–t —> *kar̲ət* 'milks–he
milk–they'

pi:š–t (2.50) —> *pi:č* 'went–he/she/it
went–they'

pī:x–o–t–i ~ —> *pī:xoti*
pī:x–o–īy–i (2.53) —> *pī:xīyi*
'he/she/it did not go'

tīn-o-t-i~ —> *tīnoti*
tīn-o-īy-i (2.53) —> *tīnīyi*
'he/she/it did not eat'

uṇ-o-t-i~ —> *uṇoti*
uṇ-o-īy-i (2.53) —> *uṇīyi*
'he/she/it did not break'

kīy-o-t-i~ —> *kīyoti*
kīy-o-īy-i (2.53) —> *kīyīyi*
'he/she/ did not do (work)'

po:r-o-t-i~ —> *po:roti*
po:r-o-īy-i (2.53) —> *po:rīyi*
'he/she/it did not come'

podkīs̱-o-īy-i (2.53) —> *podkīs̱īyi*
'he/she/ they will not come'

tīḏkīs̱-o-īy-i (2.53) —> *tīḏkīs̱īyi*
'he/she/they will not eat'

uḍkīs̱-o-īy-i (2.53) —> *uḍkīs̱īyi*
'he/she/they will not drink'

pi:kīs̱-o-īy-i (2.53) —> *pi:kīs̱īyi*
'he/she/ they will not go'

4.18.3.2. ∞ *-u* occurs after tense suffix when it is preceded by interrogative·

Ex. *pi:-∅-u* —> *pi:u* 'goes-he/she go-they'

pod-∅-u —> *podu* 'comes-he/she come-they'

tīḏ-∅-u —> *tīḏu* 'eats-he/she eat-they'

uḍ–∅–u —> *uḍu* ' drinks-he/she drink-they '

kīs–∅–u —> *kīsu* ' does-he/she do–they,'

nwī:ṭ–∅–u —> *nwī:ṭu* ' looks–he/she look–they '

kaṟə–∅–u —> *kaṟəu* ' milks–he milk–they '

püṣoḍə–∅–u —> *püṣoḍəu* ' calls–he/she call-they '

naṟə–∅–u —> *naṟəu* ' walks–he/she/it walk–they '

4.18.3.3. ∞ *-k* occurs after past tense suffix when it is preceded by interrogative.

Ex. *pod–ṣ–k* (2.42,49) —> *pozk* ' came-he/she/they '

tīḏ–s–k (2.44,49) —> *tīẕk* ' ate-he/she/they ,

uḍ–s–k (2 48,49) —> *uẓk* ' drank-he/she/they ',

o:ḍ–s–k (2.48,49) —> *o:ẓk* ' danced–he/she/they '

nwī:ty–s–k (2.26,47,49) —> *nwī:ṣk* ' looked-he/she/they '

kaṟə–s–k (2.41) —> *kaṟsk* ' milked-he/they '

püṣoḍə–s–k (2.41) —> *püṣoḍsk* called–he/she/they '

naṛə–s–k	(2.41)	—>	*naṛsk*
			' walked–he/she/they '
aṭo–s–k	(2.41)	—>	*aṭsk*
			' measured-he/she/they '
pi:ṛfoə–s–k	(2.41)	—>	*pi:ṛfosk*
			' kissed-he/she '
paft–s–k	(2.41)	—>	*pafsk*
			' kicked-he/she/they '
teṣamt-s–k	(2.41)	—>	*teṣamsk*
			' performed hair–cutting and naming ceremony '

4.18.3.4. ∞ *–n* occurs after tense suffix and before conditional suffix *–wīṛ*.

Ex. *pod–∅–n–wīṛ*	—>	*podnwīṛ*	' if he comes '
pi:·∅–n–wīṛ	—>	*pi:nwīṛ*	' if he goes '
naṛə–∅–n–wīṛ	—>	*naṛənwīṛ*	' if he walks '
uḍ–∅–n–wīṛ	—>	*uḍnwīṛ*	' if he drinks '
tīḏ–∅–n–wīṛ	—>	*tīḏnwīṛ*	' if he eats '

4.19. Declarative

$$\left\{\begin{array}{l} S_2\text{– Tense- Pers. sfx.} \\ S_1\text{– Neg– Pers. sfx.} \end{array}\right\} \;—$$

$$\left\{\; -i \;\right\}$$

$$\sim -i$$

4.19. ~ *–i*

Ex. *pod-∅-pin–i*	—>	*podpini*	'come–I'

tīd̲-∅-pin-i —> *tīd̲pini* 'eat–I'

koḍ-∅-pin-i —> *koḍpini* 'look–I'

pod-s-pin-i (2.42,49) —> *pozpini* 'came-I

te:d̲-s-pin-i (2.44,49) —> *te:z̲pini* 'did (work)–I'

po:r-o-en-i (2 53) —> *po:reni* 'I did not come'

pī:x-o-en-i (2.53) —> *pī:xeni* 'I did not go'

podkīs̲-o-en-i (2.53) —> *podkīs̲eni* 'I will not come

tīd̲-∅-pim-i —> *tīd̲pimi* 'eat–we (excl.)'

pīt̲-∅-pim-i —> *pīt̲pimi* 'carry-we'

pī:x-o-em-i —> *pī:xemi* 'we did not go'

nīl-o-em-i —> *nīlemi* 'we did not stand'

koḍ-∅-pum-i —> *koḍpumi* 'look–we (incl.)

nīd̲-∅-pum-i —> *nīd̲pumi* 'stand–we'

kīy-o-um-i (2.53) —> *kīyumi* 'we did not do'

pi:-∅-p-i —> *pi:pi* 'go–you (sg.)

naṛə-∅-p-i —> *naṛəpi* 'walk-you (sg.)'

pod-s-p-i (2.42,49) —> *pozpi* 'came–you'

tīn-o-p-i —> *tīnopi* 'you did not eat'

pod-o-t-i —> *podoṭi* 'do not come'

kark-∅-tš-i —> *karktši* 'melt–you (pl.)'

kaṯ-o-š-i —> *kaṯoši* 'you did not learn'

pod o-s̲-i —> *podos̲i* 'do not come–you (pl.)'

tīḏ-Ø-t-i	—>	*tīḏti*	'eats-he/she/it, eat-they'
pod-Ø-t-i	—>	*podti*	'comes-he/she/it, come-they'
pī:x-o-t-i	—>	*pī:xoti*	'he/she/it did not go'

4.20. Conditional

S_2- Tense- Pers. Sfx-.

{ -*wīṛ* }

~- *wīṛ*

4.20.1. ~- *wīṛ* occurs after personal suffix.

Ex.	*pod-Ø-en-wīṛ*	—>	*podenwīṛ*	'if I come'
	pod-Ø-y-wīṛ	—>	*podywīṛ*	'if you come'
	pod-Ø-n-wīṛ	—>	*podnwīṛ*	'if he comes'
	naṛə-Ø-en-wīṛ	—>	*naṛəenwīṛ*	'if I walk'
	naṛə-Ø-y-wīr	—>	*naṛəywīṛ*	'if you walk'
	naṛə-Ø-n-wīṛ	—>	*naṛənwīṛ*	'if he walks'
	pi:-Ø-en-wīṛ	—>	*pi:enwīṛ*	'if I go'
	pi:-Ø-y-wīṛ	—>	*pi:ywīṛ*	'if you go'
	pi:-Ø-n-wīṛ	—>	*pi:nwīṛ*	'if he goes'
	īḏ-Ø-en-wīṛ	—>	*īḏenwīṛ*	'if I say'
	īḏ-Ø-y-wīṛ	—>	*īḏywīṛ*	'if you say'
	īḏ-Ø-n-wīṛ	—>	*īḏnwīṛ*	'if he says'

4.21. Classification of verbal stems

In the Toda language the past tense and the present-future (as well as some other formations) are formed on a

special stem that may be called the 'secondary stem' (S_2 of Emeneau). This secondary stem historically corresponds to the past stem of Tamil–Malayalam and some other languages. The secondary stem is formed by adding one of the following suffixes to the verb base. 1. *ɵ* 2. *t* 3. *d and* 4. *y*. To quote Emeneau (1967): "The great majority of Toda S_2 stems is represented by such contrasting sets as: *īx–*, *īxy–* 'to slip, be slippery' *īx–*, *īxɵ–* 'to separate oneself from others,' *īxf-*, *īxt-* 'to make people separate, open (loop', bangle), *kuf–*, *kufy-* 'to pound (clothes in washing), load (gun)', *uf–*, *uft–* 'to shake off, empty (bag)', On the basis of these and many other items three S_2 morphs can be set up 1. *–y-* 2. *–ɵ-* 3. *–t-*. Two verbs ending in *ḷ* have an S_2 suffix 4. *-d–*. This is in contrast with *–t–* and *–y–* after stems ending in *l*[1]" So all the Toda verbs are classified into four majar classes.

1. *y* class
2. *ɵ* class
3. *t* class
4. *d* class

It is also to be noted that verbs have to be classified on the basis of transitivity versus intransitivity. The verbs which are capable of taking object are called transitive and others are called intransitive The transitive can be denoted either inherently (i e without any suffixes) or by the addition of some suffixes. The derived transitives are formed by the addition of suffixes to the intransitive verbs. So the inherent intransitive are divided into two sub-classes, namely.

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1. M. B. Emeneau, '*The South Dravidian languages*', Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol 87, No. 4, 374–76, 1967.

1. Intransitive ($Intr._1$) which cannot be made into transitive by the addition of transitive suffix.

2. Intransitive ($Intr._2$) which can be made into transitives by the addition of transitive suffix.

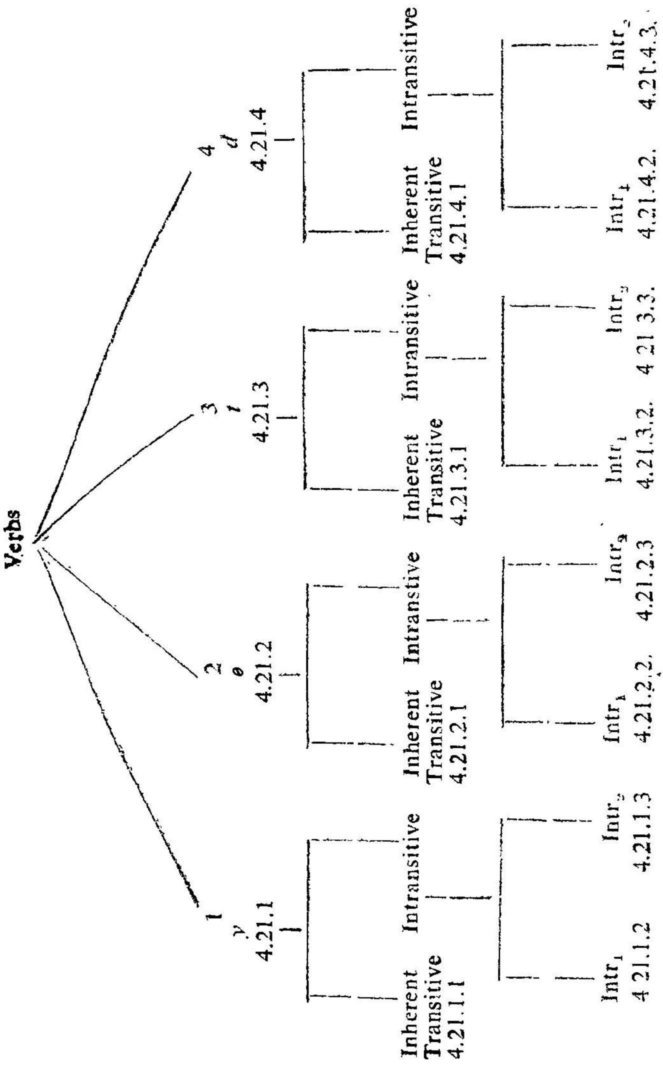
Intransitive ($Intr._2$) are found to fall into three classes.

1. Intransitives which take transitive suffix *-t-*.

2. Intransitives which take transitive suffix *-c-*.

and 3. Intransitives which take transitive suffix *-f-*.

The classification on the basis of the secondary stem formative and the classification on the basis of transitive versus intransitive are cross classifications. However, they can be clubbed under one group. Four major classes which are already set up on the basis of secondary stem formative as a basic, the intransitive and transitive classification is incorporated within that. So each of the four major classes is sub divided into inherent transitive, $intransitive_1$ and $Intransitive_2$.


Verbs
1
v
4.21.1
Inherent Transitive 4.21.1.1
Intransitive
$Intr_1$ 4.21.1.2
$Intr_2$ 4.21.1.3
2
e
4.21.2
Inherent Transitive 4.21.2.1
Intranstive
$Intr_1$ 4.21.2.2
$Intr_2$ 4.21.2.3
3
t
4.21.3
Inherent Transitive 4.21.3.1
Intransitive
Intr 4.21.3.2
Intr 4.21.3.3
4
d
4.21.4
Inherent Transitive 4.21.4.1
Intransitive
Intr 4.21.4.2
Intr 4.21.4.3

y class

4.21.1.1. *Inherent Transitives*

ōn	'count'
kaṛt	'send'
ürp	'play (flute)'
up	'agree'
oḷ	'pour'
pīn	'weave'
po:ṭ	'spread' (grains)
pu:ṭ	'tie'
toḷ	'push
wī:ṛ	'drive (calf from udder)'
paṭ	'seize, touch'
koṭ	'build (house)'
sop	'suck'
kö:ṛ	'winnow'
ki:c	'comb'
öšt	'say'
ki:ṛ	'tear'
kuṭ	'knock, pound'
nok	'lick'
nob	'trust, belive'
kum	'pound (grain) with light stroke'
eṛy	'throw'
tō:št	'close (the *ti* dairy)'

o:ṭ	'shake violently'
ud	'smear'
tüṯ	'wander'
tī:k	'stop'
kwīθk	'peck'
nwī:ṭ	'look'
na:s̱	'play'
kü:p	'kill'
wī:θ	'read'
kīd	'sprinkle'
to:g	'support'
mu:t	'smell'
pīt	'sow'
as̱p	'clean'
kuf	'pound (clothes in washing')
e:mo:t	'deceive'
pint	'ask'
part	'pray'
müc	'cover'
u:c	'throw away'
koc	'bite'
tī:k	'stop (man, animal)'
te:ṯ	'fold'
paṯ	'marry (woman)'
poḍθ	'enjoy'
ušt	'take off (ring, bangle, shirt)'

kušt	'build with stone'

4.21.1.3. *Intransitive₂*

4.21.1.3.1. can be transitivized by adding *-t*.

kalx	'be stirred up'
omx	'be pressed down'
ī:x	'descend'
alx	'shake'
tu:x	'hang'
po:x	'flow dowu completly'
o:x	'become'
arx	'be subdued'
ni:x	'crawl'
tīrx	'turn'
wīθx	'get ready'
wīṇx	'wither'
karx	'melt, dissolve'
kuṛx	'be short'
moṛx	'bend'
misx	'move slightly vertically'
usx	'move horizontally'
meṣx	'(things) become soaked and softened'
nöṛx	'become tall'
u:x	'glide along'
mu:x	'be destroyed'

pīθx	'be squeezed'
twīθx	'be at point of readiness'
toθx	'smash'
muḷx	'be destroyed'
twalx	'be out of plumb'
oḍg	'be quite'
wīṛg	'be crushed'
moṛg	'become bent'
wa:g	'turn over'
tīrb	'twist'
o:ḍ	'dance'
kuṛr	'join'
ni:ṛ	'be stretched'
o:ṟ	'become dry'
mo:ṟ	'change'
tō:ṟ	'improve (in health, wealth)'
u:ṟ	'be filtered'
po:ṟ	'fly'
twī:ṟ	'be visible'

.21.1.3.2. can be transitivized by adding *–c–*.

kak	'vomit'
o:ḍ	'dance'
mu:x	'destory'
o:r	'(dispute) is settled'
ti:r	'settle (dispute)'

Class

4.21.2.1. *Inherent transitive*

par	'write'
kaṟ	'milk'
kīy	'do'
kaṟ	'steal'
aṭ	'measure'
teṟ	'open'
pe:ṛ	'thatch'
maṟ	'forget'
pūṣoḍ	'call'
koſ	'be turned upside down'
aḍ	'dig'
pīḍ	'fall'
kaṟ	'steal'
kaṛ	'churn'
pīy	'beat'
kwīy	'pluck'
eṛy	'throw, cut'
pi:ṟfor	'kiss'

4.21.2.3. *Intransitive*

4.21.2.3.1. can be transitivized by adding *-t-*.

öḍ	'rise'

naṛ	'walk'
kaḍ	'cross'
to:y	'be lowered'
kary	'be singed'
pīry	'become parted'
maṛy	'fall'
ti:y	'be singed'
īṛy	'fall down'
wīṛy	'(joints) crack'

4.21.2.3.2. can be transitivized by adding *-c-*.

ko:y	'be hot'
koḍy	'disappear'
tīry	'twist'
naḍ	'organise'
toṇy	'cool, calm'
pīxy	'become tight'
püry	'become full'
pīṛy	'spring forth, (boil) breaks'
tüṭy	'become clear'

t Class

4.21.3.1. *Inherent transitive*

a:foṛ	'talk'
uf	'shake up'

pīṛ	'carry'
twī:y	'wash (clothes)'
kwīṛ	'give'
uny	'think'
ke:ṭ	'hear'
wī:rīḍ	'listern'
īḍ	'put, place'
paf	'kick'
tuṛ	'burn'
swī:l	'be defeated'
ofy	'calm'
wīḍy	'save'
ko:f	'watch'
aṛf	'cut, reap'
uṣf	'plough'
kiṭy	'ladleout (food)'
teṭ	'pay (fine, debt)'
mu:neṭ	'like'
oṛ	'cook'

4.21.3.3. *Intransitive*.

4.21.3.3 1. Can be transitivized by adding *-f-*

öḍ	'rise'
kwal	'become emaciated'
twaḍ	'be polluted'
aṛ	'shut'

taṛ	'prevent'
nen	'think'
pax	'divide'
kwaṛ	'cut'
twa:n	'sweep'
peṭ	'grow'
waṛ	'break'
kaṟ	'tighten'
neṟ	'fill'

4.21.3.3.2. Can be transitivized by adding *-c-*

kaṭ	'learn'
twī:ṭ	'be defeated'
mony	'for give'
pīṛ	'let go'
töḍxöṛ	'be tired'
o:poṛ	'be caught'

d Class

4.21.4.1. *Inherent transitive*

tïn	'eat'
uṇ	'drink'
īn	'say'
koḷ	'steal'
pe:rf	'be born'
kwīḷ	'carry (corpse)'
o:ḷ	'rule'

4.21.4.3. *Intransitive*$_2$

4.21.4.3.1. Can be transitivized by adding *-t-*

sö:r	'lean against, arrive'
u:ḷ	'roll'
tu:ḷ	'roll up'
ko:ṇ	'see'
pī:l	'tumble over'
no:l	'get wet'
pu:ḷ	'wear around neck'
kiskwīl	'tickle'
teškwīḷ	'hug'
nī:ḷ	'be stretchedout'

4.21.4.3.2. Can be transitivized by adding *-c-*.

nīl	'stand'

It is worth mentioning that in Toda there are certain verbs like the following which can be used both as transitive and intransitive.

Ex. *moṛy*	'fold (intr., tr.)'
swīṭ	'drop (of liquid) (intr., tr.)'
wīṭy	'hide (Intr. tr.)'
toṭy	'sprinkle (intr., tr.)'

4.22. Complex verb stems

$$V\text{-}\left[{}^{V}Aux_1\right] - \left[{}^{V}Aux_2\right]$$

The verbal stems containing simple verbs and the elements functioning as reflexive, progressive etc., are referred to as complex verb stems[1] and these additional elements are considered as auxiliary verbs. The complex verbs consist of a main verb [*V*] and one $[{}^{V}Aux_1]$ or two $[{}^{V}Aux_1 - {}^{V}Aux_2]$ auxiliary verbs The auxiliary verbs are added to the verbal participle of the main verb. The auxiliary verbs *iθ*–, *nwī:ṭy*• *wīḷ-kīḏ*, *fīṭ* are added to the main verb or to the verbal participle of the main verb [*V*] The sandhi behaviour of the auxiliary verbs are the same as when they occur as main verbs.

4 22.1. *Perfective*

S_2– Past tense -*V.P*-

{ -*iθ*- }

∼ –*iθ*-

4 22 1.1. ∼–*iθ*-

Ex. *pod-s-∅-iθ-s-pin-i* (2 42,49,41)
—> *pozispini* 'I had come'

nwī:ṭy-s-∅-iθ-s-pin-i (2.26,47,49,41)
—> *nwī:ṣispini* 'I had seen'

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1 W. Bright and J. Lindenfeld, "Complex verb forms in Colloquial Tamil", *Studies in Indian Linguistics*, p. 30.

tīḏ-s-∅-iə-s-pin-i (2.44,49,41)
—> *tīẓīspini* 'I had eaten'

uḏ-s-∅-iə-s-pin-i (2.43,49,41)
—> *uẓispini* 'I had drunken'

kaṛə-s-∅-iə-s-pin-i (2.41)
—> *kaṛsispini* 'I had churned'

kaṛə-s-∅-iə-s-pin-i (2.41)
—> *kaṛsispini* 'I had milked'

kwīṛt-s-∅-iə-s-pin-i (2.41)
—> *kwīṛsispini* 'I had given (to him)'

4.22.2. *Trial*

S_2– Past tense –*VP*–'

{ *-nwī:ṭy-* }

∼ *-nwī:ṭy*

4.22.2.1. ∼*-nwī:ṭy-*

Ex. *pinty-s-∅-nwī:ṭy-s-pin-i* (2.26,45,4),26,47,49)
—> *pinšnwī:ṣpini* 'I tried to ask him'

a:foṭ-s-∅-nwī:ṭy-s-pin-i (2.47,49,26.47,49)
—> *a:foṣnwī:ṣpini* 'I tried to talk with him'

tīḏ-s-∅-nwī:ṭy-s-pin-i (2.44,49,26,47,49)
—> *tīẓnwī:ṣpini* 'I tried to eat (meal)'

(*poṇm*) *kwīṛt-s-∅-nwī:ṭy-s-pin-i* (2.41,26,47,49)
—> *kwīṛs nwī:ṣpini* 'I tried to give (money)'

(*a:ṣ*) *kīs-s-∅-nwī:ṭy-s-pin-i* (2.18,26,47,49)
—> *kīs nwī:ṣpini* 'I tried to build (house)'

uḍ-s-∅-nwī:ṭy-s-pin-i (2.48,49,26,47,49)
—> *uẓnwī:ṣpini* 'I tried to drink (arrack)'

4.22.3. *Durative*

S_2– Past tense -*VP*–

{ -*wīḷ*- }

∼-*wīḷ*-

4.22.3.1. ∼-*wīḷ*-

Ex. (*si:ṭ*) *parə-s-∅-wīḷ-∅-pin-i* (2.41)
—> *parswīḷpini* 'I am writing (letter)'

(*īr*) *kaṟə-s-∅-wīḷ-∅-pin-i* (2.41)
—> *kaṟswīḷpini* 'I am milking (buffalo)'

(*twī:ṟ*) *tīḏ-s-∅-wīḷ-∅-pin-i* (2.44,49)
—> *tīẓwiḷpini* 'I am eating (meals)'

(*so:roy*) *uḍ-s-∅-wīḷ-∅-pin-i* (2.48,49)
—> *uẓwīḷpini* 'I am drinking (arrack)'

(*poṇm*) *kwīṛt-s-∅-wīḷ-∅-pin-i* (2.41)
kwīṛswīḷpini 'I am giving (money to him)'

4.22.4. *Obligatory*

S_2–

{ -*to*- }

∼-*to*-

4.22.4.1. ~ *-to-*

Ex. *tīḏ-∅-to-īy-i*	(2.53)	—>	*tīḏtīyi* 'he has to eat'
uḍ-∅-to-īy-ī	(2.53)	—>	*uḍtīyi* 'he has to drink'
pi:-∅-to-īy-i	(2.53)	—>	*pi:tīyi* 'he has to go'
pīṯ-∅-to-īy-i	(2.53)	—>	*pīṯtīyi* 'they have to carry'
pod-∅-to-īy-i	(2.53)	—>	*podtīyi* 'he has to come'
wī:ḍ-∅-to-īy-i	(2.53)	—>	*wī:ḍtīyi* 'he has to run'
kaṟe-∅-to-īy-i	(2.53)	—>	*kaṟetīyi* 'he has to milk'
naṟe-∅-to-īy-i	(2.53)		*naṟetīyi* 'he has to walk'
pi:-∅-to-pin-i		—>	*pi:topini* 'I have to go'
pi:-∅-to-pum-i		—>	*pi:topumi* 'we have to go'
pi:-∅-to-p-i		—>	*pi:topi* 'you have to go (sg.)'
pi:-∅-to-š-i		—>	*pi:toši* 'you have to go (pl.)'
kīs-∅-to-pin-i		—>	*kīstopini* 'I have to do'

kīs–ø–to–pum–i —> *kīstopumi*
'we have to do'

kīs–ø–to–p–i —> *kīstopi*
'you have to do'

kaṛə–ø–to–pin–i —> *kaṛətopini*
'I have to milk'

kaṛə–ø–to–pum–i —> *kaṛətopumi*
'we have to milk'

kaṛə–ø–to–p–i —> *kaṛətopi*
'you have to milk (sg.)'

kaṛə–ø–to–š–i —> *kaṛətoši*
'you have to milk (pl.)'

naṛə–ø–to–pin–i —> *naṛətopini*
'I have to walk'

naṛə–ø–to–pum–i —> *naṛətopumi*
'we have to walk'

naṛə–ø–to–p–i —> *naṛətopi*
'you have to walk'

4.22.5. *Potential*

S_2

{ *-kīd̲-* }

~ *-kīd̲-*

4.22.5.1. ~ *-kīd̲-*

Ex. *pod–kid̲–ø–pin–i* —> *podkīd̲pini*
'I can come'

uḍ-kīd̲-∅-pin-i	—>	*uḍkīd̲pini* 'I can drink'
wī:ḍ-kīd̲-∅-pin-i	—>	*wī:ḍkīd̲pini* 'I can run'
waṛt-kīd̲-∅-pin-i	—>	*waṛtkīd̲pini* 'I can break'
pīṯ-kīd̲-∅-pin-i	—>	*pīṯkīd̲pini* 'I can carry'
naṛe-kīd̲-∅-pin-i	—>	*naṛekīd̲pini* 'I can walk'
pi:-kīd̲-∅-pin-i	—>	*pi:kīd̲pini* 'I can go'
kaṛe-kīd̲-∅-pin-i	—>	*kaṛekīd̲pini* 'I can churn'

4.22.6. *Possibility*

S_2– Tense –*VP*–*Aux*– Tense–

{ *-kin-* }

~*-kin-*

4.22.6.1. ~*-kin-*

Ex. *pod-s-∅-ie-s-kin-īy-i* (2.42,49,41)
—> *poziskinīyi* 'he/she/it/they might have come'

(*so:roy*) *uḍ-s-∅-ie-s-kin-īy-i* (2.48,49,41)
—> *uẓiskinīyi* 'he/she/they might have eaten (arrack)'

(*po:jo:rtk*) *pi:–s–ø–iə–s–kin–īy–i* (2.45,41)
—> *pi:šiskinīyi* 'he might have gone (to Ootacamund)'

tīḏ–s-ø-iə–s–kin–īyi (2.44,49,41)
—> *tīẕiskinīyi* 'he/she/it might have eaten'

kīs–s–ø–iə–s–kin–īy–i (2.18,41)
—> *kīsiskinīyi* 'he/they might have done'

4.22.7. *Aspectual*

S_2-

{ *-fīṭ-* }

~*-fīṭ-*

4.22.7.1. ~*-fīṭ-*

Ex. *kīs–fīṭ–ø-pin-i* —> *kīsfīṭpini*
'I shall certainly do

pi:fīṭ–ø–pin–i —> *pi:fīṭpini*
'I shall certainly go'

pi:fīṭ–ø-t–i —> *pi:fīṭṭi*
'he shall certainly go'

pod-fīṭ–ø–pin-i —> *podfīṭpini*
'I shall certainly come'

pinty–fīṭ–ø-pin–i (2.26) —> *pintfīṭpini*
'I shall certainly ask'

pod-fīṭ–ø-t–i —> *podfīṭṭi*
'he shall certainly come'

ösṭy-fīṭ-Ø-pin-i (2.26) —> *öštfīṭpini*
'I shall certainly say'

öšty-fīṭ-t-i (2.26) —> *öštfīṭṭi*
'he shall certainly say'

tīḏ-fīṭ-Ø-pin-i —> *tīḏfīṭpini*
'I shall certainly eat'

te:ḏ-fīṭ-Ø-pin-i —> *te:ḏfīpin*
'I shall certainly do'

pod-fīṭ-s-pin-i (2.47,49) —> *podfīṣpini*
'I had come'

kīs-fīṭ-s-pin-i (2.47,49) —> *kīsfīṣpiin*
'I had done'

wī:ḍ-fīṭ-s-pin-i (2.47,49) —> *wī:ḍfīṣpini*
'I had run'

koḍ-fīṭ-s pin-i (2.47,49) —> *koḍfīṣpini*
'I had seen'

kaṛt-fīṭ-s-pin-i (2.47,49) —> *kaṛtfīṣpini*
'I had sent'

kaṯ-fīṭ-s-pin-i (2.47,49) —> *kaṯfīṣpini*
I had learnt'

5

Appellative Verbs

5.0. Appellative verbs are those which cannot take tense suffixes but can take or are capable of taking other verbal suffixes like relative participle, personal suffixes etc[1]. Appellative verbs behave like verbs syntactically.

5.1. Stems

List of appellative bases is given below.

etu:ḍ-	'big'
nal-	'good'
puө-	'new'

1 See S. Agesthialingom and S. V. Shanmugam, *The Language of Tamil Inscriptions (1250–1350 A. D.)*. Annamalai Universtiy, 1970.

per–	'great'
pa:fn–	'old'
kīṟwīḏ-	'small'
wīḷ–	'good'
wīḍ–	'is / are'
o:ṛθ–	'not'

5.2. Relative participle

{ *-foy-* }

∞ *-foy* ∞ ∅

5.2.1. ∞-*foy* occurs after the base *wīḍ–*

Ex. *wīḍfoy oṯ* 'person who was there'

5.2.2. ∞ ∅ occurs elsewhere

o:ṛθ–∅-o:ṯ —> *o:ṛθ o:ṯ* 'person who is not there'
etu:ḍ–∅-o:ṯ —> *etu:ḍ o:ṯ* 'person who is great'

5.3. Suffixes

5.3.1. *Quality nominalizer*

St—

{ *-my* }

∼ *-my*

∼ *-my* occurs with the following bases *naṯ–*, *puθ-* and *per–*.

Ex. *naṯ–my* (2.10) —> *nanmy* 'goodness'
puθ–my —> *puθmy* 'newness'
per–my —> *permy* 'greatness'

5.3.2. *Impersonal suffix*

This is common to all person and gender-number.

St-

{ -y }

~ -y

~ -y occurs after the bases *wīḍ-*, *o:ṛe-*, and *wīḷt*.

Ex. *wīḍ-y*	—>	*wīḍy*	'is/are'
o:ṛe-y	—>	*o:ṛey*	'not'
wīḷt-y	—>	*wīḷty*	'it is good'

ae ay a:ṣ o:ṛey 'he is not in the house'

ay īr al o:ṛey 'that buffalo is not there'

ay o:ṭ iy a:ṣ wīḍy 'that man is in the house'

ay īr il wīḍy 'that buffalo is here'

ae upum wīḷty 'he is very good'

ae podfoy wīḷty 'it is good that he came'

iy ku:x eaṣa:ṛ ayku:x wīḷty
'that girl is good than this girl'

iy īr eaṣa:ṛ ay īr wīḷty
'that buffalo is good than this buffalo'

5.4. Gender-number markers

5.4.1. *Masculine*

{ o:ṭ }

~-o:ṭ

5.4.1.1. ~-*o:ṭ*

Ex. *wīḷyo:ṭ* 'one who is good'
etu:ḍo:ṭ 'one who is great'

5.4.2. *Neuter*

{ *īyi* }
~-*īyi*

5.4.2.1. ~-*īyi*

Ex. *etu:ḍīyi* 'one which is good'
kīṛwīḏīyi 'one which is small'

5.5. **Stem alternants**

5.5.1. { *wīḷ-* }
∞*wīḷ-* ∞*wīḷt-*

5.5.1.1. ∞ *wīḷt-* occurs before the adverbial -*kīs*.

Ex. *wīḷt-kīs* —> *wīḷtkīs* 'being good'

5.5.1.2. ∞ *wīḷ-* occurs elsewhere.

Ex. *wīḷ-y* —> *wīḷy* 'good'

5.5.2. { *pueθ-* }
∞*pueθ-* ∞*pueθn-*

5.5.2.1. ∞ *pueθn* occurs before *o:ṭ*.

Ex. *pueθn oṭ* 'guest or new person'

5.5.2.2. ∞ *pueθ* occurs elsewhere.

Ex. *pueθ pu:txuṭy* 'new cloak'
pueθ ogoḍy 'new shop'

6

Clitics

6.0. Clitics are those particles which are bound. They are of three types.

[i] Pro-clitics

[ii] Post-clitics and

[iii] En-clitics

6.1. Pro-clitics

Pro-clitics are those which occur before another clitic or noun. They are of two types.

[i] Demonstratives

[ii] Interrogatives

6.2. Post-clitics

Post-clitics are those which occur after pro-clitics.

6.3. En-clitics

Enclitics are those which occur after pro-clitics, post-clitics, noun or verb. They are divided into five types.

1. $Encl_1$ are those which occur after noun.
2. $Encl_2$ are those which occur after verb.
3. $Encl_3$ are those which occur after noun and verb.
4. $Encl_4$ are those which occur after noun.
5. $Encl_5$ are those which occur after post-clitics.

6.1. Pro-clitics

6.1.1. *Distant demonstrative*

{ *a-* }

∞ *a:-* ∞ *a-*

6.1.1.1. ∞ *a:-* occurs before post-clitic *-nk*.

Ex. *a:-nk* 'there'

6.1.1.2. ∞ *a-* occurs elsewhere.

Ex. *a-l*	'there'
a-ḭ	'that-side'
a-tk	'that-much'
a-θ	'that-he / she / it'
a-y	'that'
a-tʃok	'that-time'
a-t	'that-many'

6.1.2. *Proximate demonstrative*

{ *i-* }

∞ *i-* ~ *i:-* ~ *-ī-*

6.1.2.1. ∞ *i:* occurs before post-clitic *-nk*.

Ex. *i:-nk* 'here'

6.1.2.2. ~ *ī-* occurs before *-t*.

Ex. *ī-tk* 'this-much'

ī-tfok 'this-time (now)'

ī-t 'this-many'

6.1.2.3. ~ *i-* occurs elsewhere.

Ex. *i-l* 'here'

i-ṭ 'this-side'

i-θ 'this-he / she / it'

i-y 'this'

6.1.3. *Interrogative*

{ *e-* }

∞ *o:* ~ *e-* ~ *e:-*

6.1.3.1. ∞ *o:-* occurs before non-neuter suffix *-ry*.

Ex. *o:-ry* 'who'

6.1.3.2. ~ *e-* occurs before stop.

Ex. *e-gīs* 'how'

e-tfok 'what-time'

e-tk	'how much'
e-ḏ	'what day'
e-ṯ	'which side'
e-t	'how many'

6.1.3.3. ~ *e:-* occurs elsewhere.

Ex.	*e:-ө*	'which'
	e:-l	'where'
	e:-y	'which'
	e:-nk	'where (place)'

6.2. Post-clitics

6.2.1. *Place clitics*

{ *-nk* }

~ *-nk* ~ *-l*

Both are in freevariation

6.2.1.1. ~ *-nk*

Ex.	*i:-nk*	'here'
	a:-nk	'there'
	e:-nk	'where'

6.2.1.2. ~ *-l*

Ex.	*a-l*	'there'
	i-l	'here'
	e:-l	'where'

6.2.2. *Clitic of side*

$\left\{ -ṭ \right\}$

∼ -ṭ

6.2.2.1. ∼ -ṭ

Ex. *a-ṭ* 'that-side'

i-ṭ 'this-side'

e-ṭ 'which-side'

6.2.3. *Clitic of time (day)*

$\left\{ -ḍ \right\}$

∼ -ḍ

6.2.3.1. ∼ -ḍ

Ex. *a-ḍ* 'that-day'

ī-ḍ 'this-day or to-day'

e-ḍ 'which day'

6.2.4. *Clitic of time (general)*

$\left\{ -tʃok \right\}$

∼ -tʃok

6.2.4.1. ∼ -tʃok

Ex. *ī-tʃok* 'this-time (now)'

a-tʃok 'that-time'

e-tʃok 'when'

6.2.5. *Clitic of quantity (count)*

{ *-t* }

~ *-t*

6.2.5.1. ~ *-t*

Ex.	*a-t*	'that-many'
	ī-t	'this-many'
	e-t	'how-many'

6.2.6. *Clitic of quantity (mass)*

{ *-tk* }

~ *-tk*

6.2.6.1. ~ *-tk*

Ex.	*a-tk*	'that-much'
	ī-tk	'this-much'
	e-tk	'how-much'

6.2.7. *Clitic of manner*

{ *-gīs* }

~ *-gīs*

6.2.7.1. ~ *-gīs*

Ex.	*ī-gīs*	'this-manner'
	a-gīs	'that-manner'
	e-gīs	'what-manner'

6.2.8. *Clitic of adjective*

$\left\{ -y \right\}$

~ *-y*

6.2.8.1. ~ *-y*

Ex.	*a-y*	'that (adj.)'
	i-y	'this (adj.)'
	e:-y	'which (adj.)'
	ay īr	'that-buffalo'
	iy īr	'this-buffalo'
	e:y īr	'which buffalo'
	ay a:ṣ	'that-house'
	iy a:ṣ	'this-house'
	e:y a:ṣ	'which-house'

6.2.9. *Clitic of personal ending*

$\left\{ -\theta \right\}$

~ *-θ*

6.2.9.1. ~ *-θ*

Ex.	*i-θ*	'this-he / she / it'
	a-θ	'that-he / she / it'
	e:-θ	'which'

6.3. En-clitics

6.3.1. *Encl*$_1$

6.3.1.1. *Even*

$\left\{ -m \right\}$

~ *-m*

6.3.1.1.1. ~ *-m* occurs with noun.

Ex.	*peṭyxen-m*	'even Pelikan'
	sinmuṛy-m	'even Sinmury'
	o:n-m	'even I'
	aθ-m	'even he'

6.3.1.2. *Completeness*

$\left\{ -m \right\}$

~ *-m*

6.3.1.2.1. ~ *m*

Ex.	*pot-m*	'ten (all)'
	īfoθ-m	'twenty (all)'
	pot o:ṭ-m	'all the ten persons'
	īfoθ īr-m	'all the twenty buffaloes'
	iy īr īfoθ-m mo:ṛkin	'I sell all the twenty buffaloes'

6.3.1.3. *Clitic of emphasis*

$\left\{ -e: \right\}$

~ *-e:*

6.3.1.3.1. ~ *-e:*

Ex. *o:n-e:* 'I (with emphasis)'

aθ–e: 'he (with emphasis)'

ro:jn–e: 'king (with emphasis)'

6.3.1.4. *Clitic of intense emphasis*

{ *–to:n* }

~ *–to:n*

6.3.1.4.1. ~ *–to:n*

Ex. *mutyxen–to:n* 'It is Mutykan'

aθ–to:n 'it is he (with emphasis)'

kogfoṭy ïr–to:n 'it is that buffalo'

6.3.1.5. *Clitic of comparison*

{ *–θaṣa:ṛ* }

~ *–θaṣa:ṛ*

6.3 1.5.1. ~– *θaṣa:ṛ* occurs after the noun.

Ex. *ay o:ṭ θaṣa:ṛ* 'than that man'

ay ïr θaṣa:ṛ 'than that buffalo'

ay o:ṭ θaṣa:ṛ iy o:ṭ wïṭy o:ṭ ïyi

'This man is better than that man'

6.3.1.6 *Clitic of choice*

{ *o: ...... o:* }

~ *o: ...... o:*

6.3.1.6.1. ~ *o: ...... o:* occurs after the nouns.

Ex. *o:n–o: aə–o:* 'either I or he'

6.3.1.7. *About*

{ *-paty* }

~ *-paty*

6.3.1.7.1. ~ *–paty* occurs after the noun.

Ex. *mutna:s paty*	'about Mutnas'
sinmuṛy paty	'about Sinmury'
ku:x paty	'about girl'
mox paty	'about boy'
an paty a:foṛoṭi	'do not talk about him'
en paty a:foṛoṭi	'do not talk about me'

6.3.1.8. *Clitic of possibility*

{ *-em* }

~ *–em*

6.3.1.8. ~ *-em* occurs after the noun.

Ex. *ni:em*	'atleast you'
makolkem	'atleast to-morrow'

6.3.1 9. *Clitic of restriction*

{ *-mo:tīrm* }

~ *–mo:tīrm* ~ *maṭm*

Both are in freevariation.

6.3.1.9.1. ~ *-mo:tīrm*

Ex.	*o:n mo:tīrm*	'I alone'
	em mo:tīrm	'we alone'
	to:j mo:tīrm	'Taj alone'
	o:n mo:tīrm pi:pini	'I go alone'
	ae mo:tīrm endīyi	'It alone is mine'

6.3.1.9.2. ~ *–maṭm*

Ex.	*ae maṭm*	'he alone'
	ae maṭm wīṭy o:ṭīyi	'he alone is a good person'

6.3.2. *Encl₂*

6.3.2.1. *Clitic of concession of fact*

{ *-um* }

~ *-um*

6.3.2.1.1. ~ *-um*

Ex.	*pod-n-um*	—>	*podnum*	'even if he comes'
	kīs-n-um	—>	*kīsnum*	'even if he does'

pono:y podnum swī:ṭy ti:rīyi

'even if Ponay comes, matter is not going to settle'

6.3.3. *Encl₃*

6.3.3.1. *Conjunctive*

{ *-m .... -m* }

~ *-m .... -m*

6.3.3.1.1. ~ *-m .... -m*

Ex.	*īr-m koṟ-m*	'buffalo and calf'
	ni:r-m po:ṣ-m	'water and milk'
	aθ-m o:n-m	'he and I'

6.3.3.2. *Interrogative*

{ *-a:* }

~ *-a:*

6.3.3.2.1. ~ *-a:* occurs after noun and verb.

Ex.	*pi:ṭro:jn-a:*	'is Peterrajan?'
	mutna:ṣ-a:	'is Mutnas?'
	paškin-a:	'shall I come'
	wīḍ-a:	'is it there?'
	taškin-a:	'shall I give?'
	(īr) paṭkin-a:	'shall I catch (buffalo)?'

6.3.4. *Encl*$_4$

6.3.4.1. *Ordinal*

{ *-a:n* }

∞ *-a:n* ∞ *-a:fīθ*

6.3.4.1.1. ∞ *a:n* occurs before *te:ti* 'day' alone.

Ex.	*e:ḍ-a:n te:ti*	'second day'
	mu:ḏ-a:n te:ti	'third day'
	no:ng-a:n te:ti	'fourth day'
	üj-a:n te:ti	'fifth day'

6.3.4.1.2. ∞ *-a:fīθ* occurs elsewhere.

Ex. *e:ḍ-a:fīθ mox* 'second son'
mu:ḏ-a:fīθ mox 'third son'
no:ng-a:fīθ ku:x 'fourth daughter'
üj-a:fīθ ku:x 'fifth daughter'

6.3.5. *Encl*$_5$

6.3.5.1. *Universal clitic*

{ *-m* }

∼ *-m*

6.3.5.1.1. ∼ *-m*

Ex. *e:nk-m* 'every where'
e-gīs-m 'at any rate'

6.3.5.2. *Indefinite clitic*

{ *-isky* }

∼ *-isky*

6.3.5.2.1. ∼ *-isky*

Ex. *e-gīs-isky* —> *egīsisky* 'somehow or other'

7

Particles

7.0. Classification

Particles are those which cannot take either case or tense suffixes but they can occur independently or with noun or verb in a sentence. The particles are capable of taking clitics.

7.1. Free particles

Free particles are further classified into two types viz

1. Those particles which can modify a verb and
2. Those particles which can qualify a noun

7.1.1. *Verb modifiers*

7.1.1.1. { *īnmīl* } 'hereafter'

~ *īnmīl*

~ *īnmīl*

Ex. *īnmīl podoṭi* 'you should not come hereafter'

īnmīl kwīlīyi 'don't want hereafter'

7.1.1.2. { *īnm* } 'still'

~ *īnm*

~ *īnm*

Ex. *īnm pe:kīyi* 'still is necessary'

7.1.1.3. { *maṟč* } 'again'

~ *maṟč* ~ *tīrm*

Both are in free variation

Ex. *aθ maṟč pi:či* 'he went again'

aθ tīrm pi:či 'he went again'

o:n maṟč pozpini 'I came again'

o:n tīrm pozpini 'I came again'

7.1.1.4. { *mely* } 'slowly'

~ *mely*

~ *mely*

Ex. *mely pī:x* 'go slowly'

ak kīṟwīḏ mely podti

'That child comes slowly.'

7.1.1.5. { *sary* } 'alright / yes'

~ *sary*

~ *sary*

Ex. *sary ōšt* 'alright, tell'

7.1.1.6. { *pokīn* } 'without any purpose'

~ *pokīn*

~ *pokīn*

Ex. *pokīn pozpini* '(I) came without any purpose'

7.1.1.7. { *tanyk* } 'alone'

~ *tanyk*

~ *tanyk*

Ex. *tanyk pi:ti* '(he) goes alone'

7.1.1.8. { *pern* } 'speedily'

~ *pern*

~ *pern*

Ex. *pern pī:x* 'go speedily'

7.1.1.9. { *īxə* } 'away'

~ *īxə*

~ *īxə*

Ex. *īxə nīl* 'stand away'

7.1.2. *Noun qualifiers*

7.1.2.1. { *īnwīḏ* } 'another'

~ *īnwīḏ*

~ *īnwīḏ*

Ex. *ank īnwīḏ poṇy wīḍy* 'he has another work'

7.1.2.2. { *upum* } 'much/more'

~ *upum*

~ *upum*

Ex. *upum o:ṭ* 'more persons'

upum ïr 'more buffaloes'

7.1.2.3. { *ala:k* } 'lonely'

~ *ala:k*

~ *ala:k*

Ex. *ala:k a:ṣ* 'lonely house'

ala:k me:ṇ 'lonely tree'

7.1.2.4. { *ity* } 'little bit'

∞ *ity* ∞ *siṭy̆k*

7.1.2.4.1. ∞ *ity* occurs before noun *pax* 'tobacco' only.

Ex. *ity pax* 'little bit tobacco'

7.1.2 4.2. ∞ *siṭyk* occurs before *twï:ṛ*, *peṇ* etc.

Ex. *siṭyk twï:ṛ* 'little bit food'

siṭyk peṇ 'little bit butter'

7.1.2.5. { *melyš* } 'soft'

~ *melyš*

~ *melyš*

Ex. *melyš toṛp* 'soft dhoti'

melyš paṛ 'soft cloth'

7.2. Particles which occur after a noun or verb and also as a free form.

7.2.1. Particles which occur after a noun.

7.2.1.1. { *mu:lim* } 'through'

~ *mu:lim* ~ *ne:ṟa:ṟ*

Both are in freevariation.

Ex. *an mu:lim* 'through him'

an ne:ṟa:ṟ 'through him'

mutna:s̱ mu:lim 'through Mutnas'

mutna:s̱ ne:ṟa:ṟ 'through Mutnas'

7.2.1.2. { *wīḏe:ḏ* } 'little bit'

~ *wīḏe:ḏ*

~ *wīḏe:ḏ*

Ex. *po:s̱ wīḏe:ḏ* 'little bit milk'

ašky wīḏe:ḏ 'little bit rice'

7.2.1.3. { *muda:l* } 'before'

∞ *muda:l* ∞ *muda:lk*

7.2.1.3.1. ∞ *muda:lk* occurs after *en-*

Ex. *en muda:lk* 'before me'

7.2.1.3.2. ∞ *muda:l* occurs elsewhere.

Ex. *enk muda:l* 'before me'

7.2.2. Particles which occur after noun and relative participle.

7.2.2.1. { *mo:tiry* } 'similar'

~ *mo:tiry*

~ *mo:tiry*

Ex. *īr mo:tiry* 'like buffalo'

tonm mo:tiry 'like cattle'

me:ṇ mo:tiry 'like tree'

öštyfoy mo:tiry (2.26) —> *öštfoy mo:tiry* 'in the same way as said'

pintyfoy mo:tiry (2.26) —> *pintfoy mo:tiry* 'in the same way as (one) asked'

7.2.2.2. { *pīn* } 'after / afterwards'

~ *püda:l*, ~ *pin*

Both are in freevariation.

Ex. *aek püda:l* 'after that'

aek pīn 'after that'

podfoy pīn 'after coming'

7.2.3. Particles which occur after or before noun and also as free forms. Free form implies the existence of some noun in the deep level.

7.2.3.1. { *ki:l* } 'below'

∞ *kī:l*– ∞ *ki:*

7.2.3.1.1. ∞ *ki:* occurs as an attribute to a noun.

Ex. *ki: fary* 'lower line'

ki: tīn 'lower platform'

ki: kwĩteṛ	'lower floor where ladies sitting'
ki: te:s	'plains'

7.2.3.1.2. ∞ *ki:l* occurs elsewhere.

Ex. *aək ki:l*	'below that'
ki:l	'below'

7.2.3.2. { *me:l* } 'above'

∞ *me:l-* ∞ *me:-*

7.2.3.2.1. ∞ *me:-* occurs as an attribute to a noun.

Ex. *me: po:y*	'upper mouth'
me: tal	'upper portion of waist'
me: k̇ut	'upper portion of saree'
me: kwax	'end of upper line'
me: po:lgon̥	'upper pole'

7.2.3.2.2. ∞ *me:l* occurs elsewhere.

Ex. *tĩṭ me:l*	'on the hill'
aək me:l	'above that'
me:l	'above'

7.2.3.3. { *uṭ* } 'insids'

∞ *uṭ*, ∞ *uṭg*

7.2.3.3.1. ∞ *uṭ* occurs as an attribute to a noun.

Ex. *uṭ kwĩṣ*	'inner room'

7.2.3.3.2. ∞ *uṭg* occurs elsewhere.

Ex.	*a:s̱ uṭg*	'inside the house'
	to:w uṭg	'inside the blanket'
	poṭy uṭg	'inside the dairy'
	uṭg	'inside'

7.2.3.4. { *pīṟmun* } 'outside'

∞ *pīṟmun* ∞ *pīṟmutk*

7.2.3.4.1. ∞ *pīṟmun* occurs as an attribute to a noun.

Ex.	*pīṟmun kwīṣ*	'outer room'

7.2.3.4.2. ∞ *pīṟmutk* occurs elsewhere.

Ex.	*a:s̱ pīṟmutk*	'outside the house'
	pīṟmutk	'outside'

7.2.3.5. { *noṟf* } 'centre'

∞ *noṟ-* ∞ *noṟf*

7.2.3.5.1. ∞ *noṟ* occurs an an attribute to a noun.

Ex.	*noṟ ja:m*	'midnight'
	noṟ a:s̱	'middle house'
	noṟ poxo	'midday (exactly 12 o' clock')
	noṟ kwīṣ	'middle room (of dairy)'

7.2.3.5.2. ∞ *noṛf* occurs elsewhere.

Ex. *kīṟwīd noṛf* 'in the middle of child'

noṛf 'centre / middle'

7.2.3.6. { *mutyk* } 'under'

~ *mutyk*

~ *mutyk*

Ex. *an mutyk* 'under that'

7.2.4. Particle which occur after verb.

{ *a:ṟm* } 'until'

~ *a:ṟm*

7.2.4.1. ~ *a:ṟm*

Ex. *pəša:ṟm* 'till (some one) comes'

8

Echo Words

Echo words are frequent in the language families of India. The following Dravidian languages viz Tamil, Toda, Kannada, Kota, Kodagu, Telugu, Kuvi and Kolami have more prominency in having echo words. Toda language is particularly rich in the formation of this kind.

Echo words are usually formed by changing the initial syllable into *ki* or *ki:*. *Ki* occurs if the original word contains short vowel in the first syllable whereas *ki:* occurs if it contains a long vowel in the first syllable. Echo words have no lexical meaning at all.

$[C]\ \breve{V} \ \longrightarrow\ $ *ki-*

$[C]\ \bar{V} \ \longrightarrow\ $ *ki:-*

Ex.	*a:s̱ ki:s̱*	'house and the like'
	par kir	'things and the like'
	poṭy kiṭy	'temple and the like'
	kor̠ kir̠	'calf and the like'
	maḏ kiḏ	'head and the like'
	pu:txuṭy ki:txuṭy	'cloak and the like'
	po:s̱ ki:s̱	'milk and the like'
	nīy kīy	'ghee and the like'
	moj kij	'butter milk and the like'
	mod kid	'churning rod and the like'
	pu:f ki:f	'flower and the like'
	tīt kīt	'fire and the like'
	potm kitm	'grain and the like'
	kapoṭy kipoṭy	'jaggery and the like'
	ašky kišky	'rice and the like'
	up kip	'salt and the like'
	pöḷk kiḷk	'lamp and the like'
	tojmox kijmox	'Toda woman and the like'
	mošt kišt	'axe and the like'
	me:ṇ ki:ṇ	'tree and the like'
	pīṇ kīṇ	'vessel and the like'
	po:ḍč ki:ḍč	'adze and the like'
	mox kix	'boy and the like'
	moč kič	'cot and the like'

9

Syntax

9.0. The syntactic component consists of two kinds of rules, constituent structure rules (Phrase structure rules) and transformation rules. The constituent structure rules specify the grammatical categories and their relation to each other in the deep structure of the sentences of a language. The transformational rules are responsible for the surface structure which are derived from the deep structure. Transformational rules operate on constituent structure.

9.1. Constituent structure rules

1. $S \rightarrow NP + PP$

A sentence consists of an *NP* which stands for a noun, a noun phrase or a noun clause and *PP* which stands for a predicate phrase.

2. $PP \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} NP + [copula] \\ VP \end{Bmatrix}$

There are two basic types of sentences [*NP* + *VP* and *NP* + *NP* + (*copula*)] and all other types acconnted for as being derived from these basic types.

Here, *NP* + *NP* type is the equational type and *NP* + *VP* is the subject-verb predicate type.

NP which is immediately dominated by *S* performs the function of subject. On the other hand *NP* which is immediately dominated by *PP* always functions as predicate.

NP + *VP*:

Mutyxe:n pi:či 'Muttikan went'

NP + *NP* + [*copula*]:

aθ ka:wxwītṇ īyi 'He is Kawkuttan'

3. $VP \rightarrow [TM] + VP_1$

TM stands for time expression which will be expanded later (See rule 27). In a verb predicate sentence we may or may not have time expression [*TM*] and so it is placed as optional item.

piṭyxe:n mune:ṟ pi:či 'Pelikan went day before yesterday'

o:n īne:ṟ pozpini 'I came yesterday'

4. $VP_1 \rightarrow [\text{case}] + VP_2$

Case represents the casal expressions and this is further expanded by the next rule.

5. *Case* —> *case* + [*case*]

This is a recursive rule with one restriction. That is to say, the same case should not be taken twice in a simple sentence. Toda has the maximum of four cases occurring in a simple sentence.

NP + *Acc.* + *Abl.* + *Soc.* + *Dat.* + *Vb.*

o:n kwīṛki:s̱yn kwa:ṛeüṇyšn enpoḏy

küšuk po:ḏöšpini

'I asked *kwarkiry* to come with me to Lovedale mund from *kwa:ṛeüṇy* mund'

Eventhough theoretically all the cases can combine with each other (cases) the following are the combinations of cases found in my Toda material.

$$Obj. \quad + \quad \left(\left\{\begin{array}{l} Ins. \\ Soc. \\ Dat. + [Soc.] \\ Abl. \\ Loc. + [Soc.] \\ Purp + [Ins.] \end{array}\right\}\right)$$

$$Soc. \quad + \quad \left(\left\{\begin{array}{l} Obj. + [Loc.] \\ Dat. \\ Purp. + [Dat.] \\ Abl. + \left\{\begin{array}{l} Dat. \\ Purp. \end{array}\right\} \end{array}\right\}\right)$$

$$Ins. \quad + \quad \left(\left\{\begin{array}{l} Obj. + [Abl] \\ Abl. + [Dat.] \\ Soc. \\ Dat. \\ Loc. \end{array}\right\}\right)$$

$$\textit{Abl.} \; + \; \left(\left\{\begin{array}{l} \textit{Obj.} + [\textit{Purp.}] \\ \textit{Soc.} + [\textit{Dat.}] \\ \textit{Dat.} \\ \textit{Purp.} \end{array}\right\}\right)$$

$$\textit{Dat.} \; + \; \left(\left\{\begin{array}{l} \textit{Obj.} \\ \textit{Ins.} + [\textit{Abl.}] \\ \textit{Soc.} \\ \textit{Purp.} \end{array}\right\}\right)$$

$$\textit{Purp.} \; + \; \left(\left\{\begin{array}{l} \textit{Obj.} \\ \textit{Abl.} \\ \textit{Soc.} + [\textit{Abl.}] \end{array}\right\}\right)$$

$$\textit{Loc.} \; + \; \left(\left\{\begin{array}{l} \textit{Obj.} \\ \textit{Soc.} \\ \textit{Dat.} \\ \textit{Purp.} \end{array}\right\}\right)$$

Obj.

o:n an püṣoḍspini 'I called him'

Obj. + Ins

o:n īrn moštiṭ kü:pšpini 'I killed buffalo with axe'

Obj. + Soc.

ka:wxwīṭṇ pilsoḍṇ enpoḏy kaṛči

'Kawkuttan send Pilsed with me'

Obj. + Dat. + Soc.

o:n an moḏk ko:swïṛ po:ḏöšpini

'I asked him to come to mund with money'

Obj. + Abl.

ay o:ṭ̃ tan ko:tfoyn aṯs̱n po:ḏöšpini

'That person asked his wife to come from there'

Obj. + Loc. + Soc.

o:n īne:ṟ nīn meḻga:s̲ mod̲s̲ pi:ṭro:jnwīṛ nwī:ṣpini

'Yesterday I saw you at Melgas mund with Peter Rajan'

Obj. + Purp. + Ins.

o:n pumn ango:y tu:ryiṭ aṟtpini

'I cut fruit by knife for his sake'

Soc.

mutna:s anpod̲y pi:či 'Mutnas went with him'

Soc. + Obj.

o:n īne:r sinmuṛypod̲y nīmn koẓpini

'I saw you yesterday with Sinmury'

Soc. + Obj. + Loc.

o.n īne:ṟ ka:wxwīṭṇpod̲y nīmn o:ṭats̲ koẓpini

'I saw you yesterday with Kawkuttan on the way'

Soc. + Dat.

o:n anpod̲y pirgo:ṛk pi:pini

'I shall go to *pirgo:ṛ* with him'

Soc. + Purp.

o:n nīnpod̲y aøgo:yto:n pozpini

'I came with you for that purpose'

Soc. + Purp. + Dat.

o:n an pod̲y aøgo:y am mod̲k pi:špini

'I went to that mund with him for that purpose'

Soc. + Abl.

o:n mutna:ṣpoḏy aṭṣn pozpini

'I came with Mutnas from there'

Soc. + Abl. + Dat.

o:n anpoḏy pojo:rtṣn pirgo:ṛk pozpini

'I came with him from Ootacamund to Kota Nad mund'

Soc. + Abl. + Purp.

o:n pi:ṭro:jnpoḏy pojo:rtṣn nīngo:yto:n pozpini

'I came with Peter Rajan from Ootacamund for your sake'

Ins.

o:n moštiṭ kwartpini 'I cut with axe'

Ins. + Obj.

o:n moštiṭ īrn kü:pšpini 'I killed the buffalo with an axe'

Ins. + Obj + Abl.

o:n nīn a:lto:n an aṭṣn po:ḏöšpini

'I asked him to come from there only because of you'

Ins. + Abl. + Dat.

o:n ana:lto:n moṛtxö:ṛṣn küšuk pozpini

'I came from *moṛtxö:ṛ* mund to Lovedale mund because of him'

Ins. + Soc.

Sinmuṛy ena:lto:n anpoḏy pi:či

'Sinmury went with him only because of me'

Ins. + Dat.

ana:l enk upum kaṣṭm īyi 'It is very troublesome for me because of him'

Ins. + Loc.

Pīnap ena:lto:n ka:ṣmoḏṣ wīḍy

'Ponap is in the Kandal mund because of me'

Abl.

o:n ogoḏykubṣn pozpini 'I came from Kotagiri'

Abl. + Obj. + Purp.

o:n sotyšn an nīngo:y e:spozpini

'I brought it from shandy only for your sake'

Abl + Soc.

o:n ogoḏykubṣn mutna:ṣpoḏy pozpini

'I came with Mutnas from Kotagiri'

Abl. + Soc. + Dat.

o:n te:lu:rṣn anpoḏy küšuk pozpini

'I came with him to Lovedale mund from Sholur'

Abl. + Dat.

o:n pojo:rtṣn kelck pozpini 'I came from Ootacamund for the work'

Abl. + Purp.

ak ku:x ku:nu:rṣn engo:yto:n a:nk pi:či

'That girl went there from Coonur only for my sake'

Dat.

ay o:ṭ pojo:rtk pi:ti 'he goes to Ootacamund'

Dat. + Obj.

o:n ank an kwīṛspini 'I gave him that'

Dat. + Ins.

o:n mi:ṭpa:wk ana:lto:n pi:špini 'I went to Mettupalayam only because of him'

Dat. + Ins. + Abl.

mutna:ṣ pīrgo:ṛk ana:lto:n meḷga:ṣ moḏṣn pi:či 'Mutnas went to Kodanad mund from Garden mund only because of him'

Dat. + Soc.

o:n pojo:rtk anpoḏy pi:špini 'I went to Ootacamund with him'

Dat. + Purp.

o:n ank so:royg:oy poṇm kwīṛspini 'I gave him money for arrack'

Purp

o:n nīngo:y i:nk pozpini 'I came here for your sake'

Purp. + Obj.

o:n ango:y īrn kü:pšpini 'I killed buffalo only for his sake'

Purp. + Abl.

kwī:f engo:y kwī:ko:lṣn pi:či
'Kota went from Kota village for my sake'

Purp. + Soc.

o:n nīngo:yto:n anpoḏy pozpini
'I came with him for your sake'

Purp. + Soc. + Abl.

o:n töwbnīṣgo:y anpoḏy ku:ḷu:rṣn pozpini
'I came with him from Gudalur for the sake of Tebnis'

Loc.

aə ka:ṣmoḏṣ wīḍy 'He is in Kandal mund'

Loc. + Obj.

o:n pojo:rtṣ an kozpini 'I saw him in Ootacamund'

Loc. + Soc.

o:n poḍyš anpoḏy pi:špini 'I went with him in the bullock cart'

Loc. + Dat.

o:n ma:fkīḍṣ poḍyk poṇm pinšpini
'I asked money from Badaga for the bullock cart'

Loc. + Purp.

ma:f sotyš siṭygo:y ki:č mo:rči
'Badaga sold potato in shandy for the sake of chettiar'

$$6.\quad \text{Case} \rightarrow \left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{Obj.}\\ \text{Ins.}\\ \text{Soc.}\\ \text{Dat.}\\ \text{Abl.}\\ \text{Loc.}\\ \text{Purp.}\end{array}\right\}$$

$$7.\quad VP_2 \rightarrow [Adv] + VP_3$$

Adv. stands for adverb.

aθ pern naṛθti 'He walks fast'

ak kīṛwīḏ mely naṛθti

'That child walks slowly'

$$8.\quad Adv \rightarrow [\acute{S}] + Adv_1$$

Ś stands for a sentence that can occur as constituent sentence which is embedded into a matrix sentence. This is useful to derive the complex sentences like,

aθ	*pod*	*pīn*	*o:n*	*muk*	*pī:xkin*
1	2	3	4	5	6

I	will go	up	after	he	comes
4	6	5	3	1	2

by embedding the constituent sentence,

aθ podti 'He will come'
1 2

into the adverb of the matrix sentence,

o:n	*pīn*	*muk*	*pī:xkin*
1	2	3	4

I	will go	up	after
1	4	3	2

9. $Adv_1 \rightarrow [Adv_{part.}] + [Adv_{man.}] + [Adv_1]$

There are three types of adverbs and they are all abbreviated here. $[Adv_{part.}]$ stands for adverb of particles like *marc* 'again' *tīrm* 'again' *īnmīl* 'hereafter' etc; $[Adv_{man.}]$ stands for adverb of manner like *īgīs* 'in this manner' *agīs* 'in that manner' *egīs* 'in what manner' and $[Adv_1.]$ stands for adverb of limit like *a:ṛm* 'until' *ne:ṛk* 'till' etc. It is possible to have constituents to be embedded into all these adverbs, such detailed study is not attempted here.

$Adv_{part.} + Adv_1.$

maṛč a ne:ṛk pi:či 'Again he went till that end'

$Adv_{part.} + Adv_{man.}$

maṛč o:n öštfoy mo:tiry kīy

'you do it again in the way which I said'

$Adv_{part.} + Adv_{man.} + Adv_1.$

maṛč ae o:n öštfoy mo:tiry a ne:ṛkm pi:či

'he went again till that in the way which I said'

10. $Adv_{part.} \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} Adv_{part_1.} \\ Adv_{part_2.} \end{Bmatrix}$

Adv_{part} is further divided into $Adv_{part_1.}$ and $Adv_{part_2.}$

11. Adv_{part_1} —> *em*

o:nem paškin 'atleast I will come'

12. $Adv_{part_2.}$ —> $\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \textit{mar̠č} & \text{'again'} \\ \textit{tīrm} & \text{'again'} \\ \textit{īnmīl} & \text{'hereafter'} \\ \textit{īnm} & \text{'yet, still'} \end{array} \right\}$

tojmox mar̠č pi:či	'Toda woman went again'
o:n tīrm pozpini	'I came again'
īnmīl podoṭi	'won't come hereafter'
ank īnm twī:r̠ pe:kīyi	'he wants food more'
īnm poṇm pe:kīyi	'still need money'

13. $Adv_{man.}$ —> $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} Adv_{man_1.} \\ Adv_{man_2.} \end{array} \right\}$

$Adv_{man_1.}$ represents expressions like *agīs* 'in that manner', *īgīs* 'in this manner', *egīs* 'in what manner' *a mo:tiry* 'in that way' *i mo:tiry* 'in this way' *e mo:tiry* 'in what way' and $Adv_{man_2.}$ represents expression like *tanyk* 'lonely' etc.

14. $Adv_{man_1.}$ —> $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} Adv_{man_{sim.}} \\ Adv_{man_{com.}} \end{array} \right\}$

Simple adverb of manner $[Adv_{man_{sim.}}]$ represents expressions like *agīs, īgīs* and complex adverb of manner $[Adv_{man_{com.}}]$ represents expressions like *i mo:tiry* and *a mo tiry* etc.

aθ īgīs kīsti	'he does it in this manner'
ak ku:x agīs kīsti	'that girl does it in that manner'
ni: īgīs kīsoṭi	'you should not do in this manner'
ni: i mo:tiry kīsoṭi	'you should not do in this way'

15. Adv_{man_2} —> *tanyk*.

ak ku:x tanyk pi:či 'that girl went lonely'

16. Adv_1 —> $\left\{ \begin{matrix} ne{:}ṛk \\ kīḍk \end{matrix} \right\}$

moḏ kīḍk	'till the village'
a ne:ṛk	'till that'

17. VP_3 —> $\left\{ \begin{matrix} Vd \\ Vb \end{matrix} \right\}$

Vd represents defective verbs like *o:ṛθy* 'no' *wīḍy* 'is / exist', *pe:kīyi* '(is) necessary' *kwīḷīyī* '(is) not necessary' etc.

Toda has two types of verb bases. Vb which represents the Toda verb base, is further expanded by the following rule.

18. Vd —> $\left\{ \begin{matrix} Vd_p \\ Vd_n \end{matrix} \right\}$

Vd_p represents positive defective verbs and Vd_n represent negative defective verbs.

Vd_p : *enk aθ pe:k īyi* 'I want it'

Vd_n : *enk aθ kwīḷ īyi* 'I don't want that'

an kīḍṣ poṇm wīḍy 'He has money'

19. $Vb \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} Vb_1 \\ Vb_2 \end{array} \right\}$

Toda has two types of stems which we call simple stem [S_1] and secondary stem [S_2]. In Toda language, verbs have a secondary stem [S_2] which forms the basis for the past tense and of the present - future tense (as well as of some other formation).

Vb_1 represents the simple stem. Vb_2 represents the secondary stem. Vb_1 and Vb_2 are also known by the other names as S_1 and S_2 (For the detail see verb classes).

20. Obj. —> NP. + Obj. S.

For Objective suffix [Obj. S.] See 3.2.2.1.

Ex. *o:ṭṇ* 'Toda man (Obj.)'

īṛn 'buffalo (Obj.)'

21. Soc —> NP + Soc. S.

For Sociative suffix [Soc.] See 3.2.2.3.

Ex. *piṭyxe:n poḏy* 'with Pelikan'

Sinmuṛy wīṛ 'with Sinmury'

22. Ins. —> NP + Ins. S.

For Instrumental suffix [Ins. S.] See 3.2.2.2.

Ex.	*ana:l*	'by him'
	nīna:l	'by you'
	nīnīd	'by you'
	ena:l	'by me'
	enīd	'by me'
	ku:xna:l	'by girl'
	koṇa:ṟ	'by eye'
	kīfya:ṟ	'by ear'
	po:ya:ṟ	'by mouth'
	moštiṭ	'by axe'
	tu:ryiṭ	'by knife'

23. Ḍat. —> NP. + Dat. S.

For Dative suffix [Dat. S.] See 3.2.2.4.

Ex.	*enk*	'to me'
	emk	'to us'
	nīnk	'to you'
	moṟtk	'to the muṇd'
	sontk	'to people'
	no:ytk	'to the assembly'
	īrk	'to buffalo'
	a:s̱k	'to house'

24. Abl. —> NP. + Abl. S.

For Ablative suffix [Abl.S.] See 3.2.2.5.

Ex.	*modsn*	'from mund'
	u:rsn	'from village'
	atsn	'from that direction'
	kopolsn	'from ship'

25. Purp. —> NP. + Purp.S.

For Purposive suffix [Purp.S.] See 3.2.2.8.

Ex.	*engo:y*	'for my sake'
	nīngo:y	'for your sake'
	ango:y	'for his/her sake'

26. Loc. —> NP. + Loc S.

For Locative suffix (Loc S.) See 3.2.2.7.

Ex.	*enkīḍṣ*	'with me'
	ankīḍṣ	'with him'
	ku:xkīḍṣ	'with girl'
	ekaṛfots	'in the evening'
	kaštals	'in darkness'
	u:rs	'in the village' (non-Toda village)

27. $T_M \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [T_x] + [T_y] \\ T_z \end{array} \right\}$

Time expression is expanded here into two components T_x and T_y. T_x stands for expression like *ku:ṛl ti:ṭ* 'month of *ku:ṛl*', *emoṭy ti:ṭ* 'month of *emoṭy*' etc.

T_y stands for expressions like *ekaṛfotk* 'evening', *poxol* 'midday (exactly 12 o' clock).

ak ku:x ku:ṛl ti:ṭ pone:ḍa:n te:ti ekaṛfotk pi:či

'That girl went on twelth evening of *ku:ṛl* month (January-February)'

ap pō:ṛmox nala:ṇy ti:ṭ pi:či

'That Tamil boy went in the month of Nalany'

ma:f noṛpoxol pi:či 'Badaga man went at about 12 o' clock'

kwī:f ekaṛfotk pi:či 'Kota went in the evening'

T_z stands for expressions like *enk muda:l* 'before me', *enk pīn* 'after me' etc.

aθ enk muda:l pi:či 'He went before me'

aθ enk pīn pi:či 'He went after me'

$$28.\quad T_x \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} T_m + T_n \\ T_1 \\ T_2 \end{array} \right\}$$

T_x is expanded into T_m and T_n and T_1 and T_2.

T_m stands for expressions like *pīn* 'last' *iθ* 'this' etc. T_n stands for expressions like *kwa:ṛ* 'year' *parc* 'year' *ti:ṭ* 'month' *te:ti* 'date' etc.

In Toda language there is concord between Time expressions and the verb predicate inwnich we find tenses. When time expressions denote past they always take past tense, the present and future will always go with the non-past (present-future) respectively.

Here T_1 stands for past.

T_2 stands for non-past.

$T_m + T_n$:

Pīn parc emoṭy ti:ṭ pa:nga:n te:ti piṭy küšuk pozpini

'I came on Friday the 14th of *emoṭy* month of last year for Lovedale mund'

29. $T_1 \rightarrow$ { *īne:ṟ* 'yesterday' / *mune:ṟ* 'day before yesterday' }

töwbnīs īne:ṟ pi:či 'Tebnis went yesterday'

sinxe:n mune:ṟ pi:či 'Sinkan went day before yesterday'

30. $T_2 \rightarrow$ { *īḏ* 'to-day' / *makol* 'to-morrow' }

sinkijpu:f īḏ podti 'Sinkijpuf comes to-day'

pofīrmut makol podti 'Powermut will come to-morrow'

31. $T_n \rightarrow [T_r] + [T_s]$

T_r stands for expressions like *uja:fīə kwa:ṟ* 'fifth year' and T_s stands for expressions like *ti:ṭ* '*month*' *te:ti* 'date' etc.

T_r:

pö:ṛmox e:ḍa:fīθ kwa:ṛ pi:či 'Tamil boy went in the second year'

$T_m + T_r$:

ak ku:x pīn parc pi:či 'that girl went last year'

$T_m + T_r + T_s$:

ay o:ṭ pin parc nala:ṇy ti:ṭ pi:či 'that man went last year in the month of *Nala:ṇy*'

T_s:

aθ toy ti:ṭ pi:či 'he went in the month of toy'

32. $T_s \rightarrow [T_t] + [T_u]$

T_t represents expressions denoting months and this will be expanded further. T_u stands for expressions denoting week, date and names of days etc.

T_t:

ni:pa:w nala:ṇy ti:ṭ pi:či 'Nipaw went in the month of nalany'

$T_m + T_u$:

o:n pīnfo:ṛm pozpini 'I came last week'

T_u:

o:n mu:ḍa:n te:ti pozpini 'I come on the third (day)'

$T_m + T_r + T_t$:

o:n pīn parc toy ti:ṭ pozpini

'I came in the month of toy last year'

$T_m + T_r + T_t + T_u$:

o:n pīn parc toy ti:ṭ mu:d̲a:n te:ti pozpini

'I came on 3rd of the month of tai last year'

33. $T_u \rightarrow [T_v] + [N_{da}]$

T_v stands for expressions representing week or date and N_{da} stands for the names of days like *a:sm* 'sunday' *tony* 'saturday' etc.

$T_m + T_v$:

aθ pīnfo:ṛm pi:či 'he went last week'

T_v:

o:n a:ṛa:nte:ti pozpini 'I came on the sixth'

$T_t + T_v$:

o:n ku:ṛl ti:ṭ mu:d̲a:fīθ fo:ṛm kö:ṛk pi:špini

'I went for the funeral in the third week of the *ku:ṛl* month'

N_{da}:

o:n o:m pozpini 'I came on Tuesday'

$T_r + T_t + T_v$:

o:n a:ḍy ti:ṭ pone:ḍa:n te:ti pīgiṭṭpimik pozpini

'I came on twelth of *a:ḍy* month for bow - giving ceremony'

34. N_{da} —> { *a:sm* 'Sunday' / *tu:fm* 'Mondoy' / *o:m* 'Tuesday' / *putufīm* 'Wednesday' / *ta:m* 'Thursday' / *piṭy* 'Friday' / *tony* 'Saturday' }

35. T_y —> $[N_t] + [T_w]$

T_y is expanded into $[N_t] + [T_w]$ N_t represents expressions like *poxol* 'noon, day' *ekaṛfotk* 'evening' etc and T_w represents expression of timings like *üj moṇyk* 'at five o' clock' etc.

T_w :

o:n a:ṛmoṇyk pozpini 'I came at 6 o' clock'

N_t :

ae ekaṛ fotk pi:či 'he went in the evening'

$N_t + T_w$:

o:n ekaṛfotk üjmoṇyk pozpini

'I came at 5 o' clock in the evening'

$N_{da} + N_t + T_w$:

petyxe:n ta:m ekarfotk üjmonyk pi:či

'Pelikan went at 5 o' clock on Thursday evening'

$T_v + N_{da} + N_t + T_w$:

o:n toy ti:t ponmu:da:n te:ti poxol pone:d monyk pozpini

'I came on 12th noon at 12 o' clock in the month of toy'

$T_r + T_t + T_v + N_{da} + N_t + T_w$:

o:n pīn parc a:dy ti:t ōta:n te:ti pity ekarfotk no:ngmonyk pozpini

'I came at 4 o' clock in the evening on Friday the 8th of the month of *a:dy* last year'

$T_l + N_t + T_w$:

töwbnīs īne:r ekarfotk no:ng monyk pi:či

'Tebnis went at 4 o' clock yesterday evening'

$T_l + N_t + T_w$:

mutxe:n īd poxol wīd monyk podti

'Mutikan comes at 10 o' clock in the noon'

36. $T_Z \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} T_D \\ T_E \end{matrix} \right\}$

T_D is expanded below. T_E represents expression like *pern* 'immediately' etc.

o:n pern podpini 'I come immediately'

37. $T_D \rightarrow$ NP–K + T_H

Sinke:n enk muda:l pi:či
'Sinkan went before me'

o:n ank pīn pozpini 'I came after him'

38. $T_H \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} T_{H_1} \\ T_{H_2} \end{matrix} \right\}$

T_{H_1} stands for *muda:l* 'before' and T_{H_2} stands for *pīn* 'after'

NP–K + T_{H_1} :

aə enk muda:l pi:či 'he went before me'

NP–K + T_{H_2} :

o:n ank pīn pozpini 'I came after him'

There is concord between Time expressions and verb predicate and therefore the Time expression is classified into T_1, T_2. When T_1 occurs in a sentence, the tense of the predicate is always past and when T_2 occurs, the predicate can be either in the present or in the future tense. Tense is rewritten

into past in this particular context when there is T_1 and into present or future in the context when there is T_2.

39. $[Z_1] + T_1 + [Z_2] + \text{Tense}$
$$\longrightarrow [Z_1] + T_1 + [Z_2] + \text{Past}$$

Here Z_1 and Z_2 are abbreviations of any item or items which can occur in the respective slots. Their presence or absence does not affect the tense being rewritten into past and therefore they are put in parenthesis.

o:n īne:ṟ pozpini 'I came yesterday'

o:n īḏ pozpini 'I came to-day'

[Here T_1 will include 'to-day' also]

* *Sinmuṟy īne:ṟ podti* 'Sinmury will come yesterday'

40. $[Z_1] + T_2 + [Z_2] + \text{Tense}$
$$\longrightarrow [Z_1] + T_2 + [Z_2] + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Pers.} \\ \text{Fut.} \end{array} \right\}$$

ponap makol podti 'Ponnap will come to-morrow'

mutna:ṣ makol pi:ti 'Mutnas will go to-morrow'

ka:wxwīṭṉ īḏ podti 'Kawkuttan comes to-day'

a:ṣxwīṯyfīn īḏ pi:ti 'Askulypin goes to-day'

41. $\text{VOCI} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{VOC} \\ \text{Intr} \end{array} \right\}$

VOCI is expanded further. VOC represents all the vocative expressions and Intr all the interjections found in Toda language.

e:y a:nk pī:x 'hey, go there'

iyo: ayo:ṯ kö:ṟfiči 'alas! that man is dead'

42. $VOC \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} VOC_1 \\ VOC_2 \end{Bmatrix}$

Vocative expressions are classified into VOC_1 and VOC_2. VOC_1 stands for vocative forms derived form nouns. [*ku:xya:* < *ku:x*]

VOC_1 :

e:y a:nk pī:x 'hey, go there'

VOC_2 :

ku:xya: a:nk pī:x 'Oh! my wife, go there'

43. Intr. $\rightarrow$ { *iyo:* 'alas!' / *üš* 'exclamation of disgust' / *tu:* 'disgust' / .... / .... }

44. NP $\rightarrow$ [Ś] + NP_1

S is introduced here to derive the relative participle etc. This kind is very important in Dravidian languages. (See 4 12.)

45. $NP_1 \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} NP_2 \\ PN \end{Bmatrix}$

NP_1 is further classified into pronoun [PN] and other nouns [NP_2]. This is necessary because of the fact that NP_2 alone can be preceded by any adjective or genitive and not PN.

kīṟ mox	'small boy'
etu:ḍ as	'big house'
**kin aθ*	'small – he'

46. NP_2 —> [Gen] + NP_3

Gen. stands for genitive case.

en īr	'my buffalo'
nīn a:ṣ	'your house'
aθ en wīṛfedn o·ṭ̣	'he is my younger sister's husband (women's speech)'
aθ en wīṛfedn ku:xn mox	'he is my younger sister's son (women's speech)'
aθ en o:ṭ̣ṇ dan okn o:ṭ̣	'he is my husband's elder sister's husband (women's speech)'

47. Gen —> NP + Gen. S.

For Genitive case suffix See 3.2.2.6.

en īr	'my buffalo'
an mox	'his son'

48. NP_3 —> [Dem] + NP_4

Demonstrative adjectives occur before the nouns other than pronouns [PN] and quantitative nouns [N_{quan}] Dem. stands for demonstrative adjectives like *ay* 'that' *iy* 'this', *a* 'that', *i* 'this' etc.

a moḍ	'that Toda village'
a twī:	'that pen'
a töw	'that God'
i no:ṛ	'this sacred place'
ay īr	'that buffalo'
ay u:r	'that Tamil village'
iy īr	'this buffalo'
iy u:r	'this Tamil village'

$$49.\ NP_4 \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Num.} \\ \text{Ord.} \\ \text{M. Adj.} \\ \text{Ind.} \end{array} \right\} + NP_5$$

NP_4 is expanded into numeral adjective [Num], ordinal adjective [Ord] and Mass adjective [M. Adj.] and they can be followed by another noun phrase [NP_5].

Num. + NP_5:

üj o:ṭ	'five Toda men'

Ord. + NP_5:

no:nga:fīθ ku:x	'fourth daughter'
öṭa:n te:ti	'eighth day'

Dem. + Num. + NP_5:

ay üj a:ṣm	'those five houses'

Ind. :

upum o:ṭ	'many persons'
ity īr	'few buffaloes'

50. Ord. —> Num. + Ord_s:

Ord_s represents the ordinal suffixes *a:fīθ* and *a:n.*

no:ng-a:fīθ a:ṣ	'fourth house'
pone:ḍ-a:n te:ti	'twelfth day'

51. Tr —> Ord + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} kwa:ṛ \\ parc \end{array} \right\}$

o:n mu:ḏa:fīθ kwa:ṛṣ pozpini

'I came in the third year'

52. T_t —> $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} Ord_d \\ N_{mon} \end{array} \right\}$ + *ti:ṭ*

T_t is expanded here. Ord_d stands for ordinals denoting one to twelve and N_{mon} stands for names of twelve months.

e:ḍa:fīθ ti:ṭ	'second month'
o:n a:ḍy ti:ṭ podpini	'I will come in the month of *a:ḍy*'

a pō:ṛmox a:θry ti:ṭ pi:čī

'that Tamil boy went in the month of *a:θry* (April-May)'

ma:fmox ku:ṛl ti:ṭ pi:či

'Badaga boy went in the month of *ku:ṛl*'

53. $T_v \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} Ord_p + \textit{po:ṛm} \\ Ord_t + \textit{te:ti} \end{array} \right\}$

Ord_p stands for ordinals denoting one to four and Ord_t stands for ordinals denoting one to thirty one.

e:ḍa fīθ po:ṛm	'second week'
pa.ṇga:n te:ti	'fourteenth day'

54. $N_t \rightarrow$ { *i:sy* 'morning' / *poxol* 'noon' / *ekaṛfotk* 'evening' / ……………… / ……………… }

55. $T_w \rightarrow Num_m$ + ({ *ko:l* / *ar* / *muko:l* }) + *moṇyk*

Num_m stands for the numerals one to twelve.

mu:ḏ moṇyk	'at 3 o' clock'
mu:ḏ ko:l moṇyk	'at 3-15'
no:ng moṇyk	'at 4 o' clock'
no:ng ar moṇyk	'at 4-30'
üj muko:l moṇyk	'at 5-45'

56. $Ord_d \rightarrow Num_m + Ord_s$

Ord_d stands for all ordinals which occur with the names of months, that is one to twelve.

e:ḍa:fīθ ti:ṛ	'second month'
öṭa:fīθ ti:ṛ	'eighth month'

57. $Ord_t \;\rightarrow\; Num_t + Ord_s$

Ord_t represents all numerals from one to thirty one which can occur before the noun *te:ti* 'day or date'

öṭa:n te:ti	'eighth day'

58. $Ord_p \;\rightarrow\; Num_p + Ord_s$

Num_p represents numerals one to four.

e:ḍa:fīθ po:ṛm	'second week'
mu:ḍa:fīθ po:ṛm	'third week'
no:nga:fīθ po:ṛm	'fourth week'

59. $N_{mon} \;\rightarrow$

ku:ṛl	Dec. – Jan.
ala:ṇy.	Jan. – Feb.
nala·ṇy	Feb. – Mar.
a:ṇy	Mar. – Apr.
a;ery	Apr. - May
a:ḍy	May - Jun.
a:fṇy	Jun. – Jul.
perta:θy	Jul. – Aug.
tuḍθīfy	Aug. – Sep.
kīrdīfy	Sep. – Oct.
toy	Oct. - Nov.
emoṭy	Nov. – Dec.

60. $M.\ Adj \;\rightarrow\; M.\ Adj_1$

$M.\ Adj_1$ represents expressions like

mu:d̲ e:ker neln	'land of three acres'
üj ačok po:s̲	'milk of five seer'
wīd̲ pi:čm kapoṭy	'jaggery of one *vi:če*'

61. $M.\ Adj_1 \longrightarrow Num + MLW$

MLW stands for names of measures, length and weights.

$$62.\quad MLW \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} M \\ L \\ W \end{matrix} \right\} \begin{matrix} /\text{-}\ N_m \\ /\text{-}\ N_l \\ /\text{-}\ N_w \end{matrix}$$

This rule is a context-sensitive rule. MLW is expanded into names of meesure [M] like *ak, kwa:x,* names of length measure [L] like *oṭy, e:ker, magoy* etc., and names of weights [w] like *pi:čm, moṇuf* etc.

$$63.\quad M \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} ak \\ kwa{:}x \\ \cdots\cdots \\ \cdots\cdots \end{matrix} \right\}$$

wī:r ak po:ṣ	'milk of one *ačok* measure'
e:ḍ kwa:x potm	'ragi of two big *ačok* measure'

$$64.\quad L \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} e{:}ker \\ oṭy \\ mogoy \\ \cdots\cdots \\ \cdots\cdots \end{matrix} \right\}$$

e:ḍ e:ker pu:my	'land of two acres'
pot oṭy poθky	'ten feet distance'
üj mogoy pu:txuṭy	'*pu:txuṭy* of five *mogoy* measure'

65. W —> { *pi:čm* / *moṇuf* / ……… / ……… }

no:ng pi:čm kapoṭy	'jaggery of four *vi:če*'
üj pi:čm mo:f	'flour of five *vi:če*'
wīd̲ moṇuf kapoṭy	'jaggery of one *maṇuṅku* weight'

66. Ind. —> { *upum* 'many' / *ity* 'few' }

upum īr	'many buffaloes'
ity o:ṭ̣	'few persons'

67. NP_5 —> $[N_q]$ + NP_6

N_q stands for nouns of quality

nas̲ ku:x̄	'beautiful girl'
wīṭ̣y pöḷk	'good lamp'
wīṭ̣y īr	'good buffalo'
wīṭ̣y mox	'good boy'

68. NP_6 —> [Adj] + NP_7

Adjective [Adj] stands for expressions like *etu:ḍ* 'big' *kīr̲* 'small' etc.

etu:ḍ mod̲	'big Toda village'
etu:ḍ a:s̲	'big house'
kīr̲ mox	'small boy'

69 Adj $\rightarrow$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} Adj_a \\ Adj_p \end{array} \right\}$

Adjective is expanded here as Adj_a and Adj_p. Adj_a stands for adjectives like *etu:ḍ* 'big' *kīr* 'small' *pa:fn* 'old' cte. Adj_p stands for adjectives like *pöṭ* 'white', *po:x* 'red', *ni:lm* 'blue', and *poč* 'green' etc.

70. Adj_a $\rightarrow$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} etu{:}ḍ \\ kīṟ \\ wīṭy \\ pa{:}fn \\ \ldots\ldots \\ \ldots\ldots \end{array} \right\}$

etu:ḍīr	'big buffalo'
etu:ḍ o:ṭ	'big man'
etu:ḍ a:ṣ̱	'big house'
kīṟ mox	'small boy'
pa:fn toṛp	'old dhoti'
pa:fn pu:txuṭy	'old cloak'

71. Adj_p $\rightarrow$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ka{:}ṛ \\ pöṭ \\ ni{:}lm \\ po{:}x \\ poč \\ \ldots\ldots \\ \ldots\ldots \end{array} \right\}$

pöṭ toṛp	'white dhoti'
pöṭ kopaṇ	'white butterfly
ni:lm kal	'blue stone (in the ring)'
poč pul	'green grass'

72. $NP_7 \rightarrow [N.Adj_q] + NP$

$N.Adj_q$ stands for any noun occuring as an attribute to another noun.

kö:ṛ a:s̱	'death house'
pïṣ a:s̱	'hut to which woman goes after child birth and stays until new moon'

73. $Num \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} Num_s \\ Num_p \end{array} \right\}$

Numeral is classified into numeral singular $[Num_s]$ and numeral plural $[Num_p]$.

74. $Num_s \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} Num_c \\ Frac \end{array} \right\}$

Singular number is expanded into singular cardinal $[Num_c]$ like *wïḏ* 'one' and fraction [Frac.] like *ko:l* 'quarter' *aṟ* 'half', *mu:kol* 'three fourths' etc.

75. $Num_p \rightarrow Num_{pc} + [Frac.]$

Num_{pc} represents plural cardinal numbers like *mu:ḏ* 'three', *üj* 'five', *pot* 'ten' etc.

Num_{pc} + Frac.

mu:ḏ kol	'$3\frac{1}{4}$'
e:ḍ ar	'$2\frac{1}{2}$'
no:ṇg muko:l	'$4\frac{3}{4}$'

76. Frac —> $\left\{\begin{array}{ll} \textit{ko:l} & \text{'quarter'} \\ \textit{ar} & \text{'half'} \\ \textit{muko:l} & \text{'three fourths'} \end{array}\right\}$

77. N —> $\left\{\begin{array}{c} N_A \\ N_{IA} \end{array}\right\}$

Nouns can be divided into animate nouns $[N_A]$ and inanimate nouns $[N_{IA}]$[1]

ankïḍṣ upum ïr wïḍy	'he has more buffaloes'
enkïḍṣ upum poṇm wïḍy	'I have more money'
ïrkïḍṣ upum kwar wïḍy	'there is mud near buffalo'
me:ṇṯs upum pum wïḍy	'there are plenty of fruits in the tree'
pa:fyš ni:r o:ṛəy	'There is no water in the well'

78. N_A —> $\left\{\begin{array}{c} N_{pn} \\ N_{cn} \end{array}\right\}$

N_{pn} represents proper nouns $[N_{pn}]$ and N_{cn} represents common noun $[N_{cn}]$. The proper nouns do not take plural suffix and common nouns can take the plural suffix.

---

1 This classification is necessitated due to the following reasons. Certain nouns take *kïḍṣ* as locative case sign and certain others do not. Those which take *kïḍṣ* are classified here as animate and the rest inanimate. Eventhough human and non-human distinctions are maintained in interrogative pronouns [*o:ry* 'who' *in* 'what' *e:ə* 'which'] we can't find the distinction in syntactic level.

N_{pn} :

töwbnīs̱	'a personal name'
išköxwīḷṇ	'a personal name'
mu:nbo:wxwīṭṇ	'a personal name'

N_{cn} :

wīṛfed	'younger brother'
mox	'boy'
ku:x	'girl'

79. $N_{pn} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} N_{pm} \\ N_{pf} \end{array} \right\}$

Proper nouns are classified into masculine proper nouns [N_{pm}] and feminine proper nouns [N_{pf}].

N_{pm} :

aṛpa:wnīs̱	'a personal name'
a:s̱xwīṭyfīn	,,
pīnsfīn	,,

N_{pf} :

pofīrmut	'a personal name'
eṛcigyfu:f	,,
sinbüdy	,,

80. $N_{cn} \rightarrow N_{cns} + [\mathbf{Pl}]_1$

N_{cns} :

mox	'boy'
ku:x	'girl'

$N_{cn} + Pl_1$:

mox - a:m	'boys'
ku:x - a:m	'girls'
kwī:f - a:m	'Kotas'

81. $N_{cns} \;\; \rightarrow \;\; \left\{ \begin{matrix} N_{cn_I} \\ N_{cn_D} \end{matrix} \right\}$

N_{cn_I} stands for inherent nouns like *wī:rfed* 'younger brother' *eyi*; 'father' *af* 'mother' etc. N_{cn_D} stands for derived nouns like *kel–o:ṭ* 'old man' *kel–oč* 'old woman' etc. N_{cn_I} *has no morphological marker for the gender number* whereas N_{cn_D} has morphological marker.

82. $N_{cn_I} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} N_{cn_m} \\ N_{cn_f} \end{matrix} \right\}$

Inherent common nouns are expanded into masculine common noun $\left[N_{cn_m} \right]$ and feminine common noun $\left[N_{cn_f} \right]$.

83. $N_{cn}D \rightarrow N_{cn}B + G.N.$

$N_{cn}B$ stands for common noun base and G.N. for gender–number suffixes.

kel- o:t̂	'old man'
kel- oč	'old woman'

84. $G.N. \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} mas. \\ fem. \end{array} \right\}$

85. $N_{IA} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} N_{cn} \\ N_{ncn} \end{array} \right\}$

Inanimate nouns [N_{IA}] are classified into count nouns [N_{cn}] and non-count nouns [N_{ncn}]

86. $N_{ncn} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} N_{ma} \\ N_{pn} \end{array} \right\}$

N_{ma} represents the mass noun like *eṇo:y* 'oil' *ni:r* 'water' etc. and N_{pn} represents the proper nouns (names of the place) like *pojo:rm* 'Ootacamund', *mi:tpa:w* 'Mettupalayam', *maθra:č* 'Madras', *moysu:r* 'Mysore' etc.

Mass noun cannot take plural suffix while count noun can take plural suffix.

87. $N_{ma} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} N_{ql} \\ N_{qn} \end{array} \right\}$

Mass noun is further sub-divided into quality noun [N_{ql}] like *sinm* 'anger with grudge', *püty* 'wisdom', and *pöṭ* 'white' etc and nouns of quantity [N_{qn}] like *nīy* 'ghee', *kapoṭy* 'jaggery', *neṣ* 'paddy' etc. Quantity noun can take mass adjective like names of weights and measures.

$$88.\quad N_{qn} \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} N_M \\ N_L \\ N_W \end{Bmatrix}$$

N_M stands for nouns which can be preceded by nouns of measurements, N_L for nouns which can be preceded by nouns of length and N_W for nouns which can be preceded by nouns of weights.

$M + N_M$:

a:ṛ ak nīy 'ghee of six *ačok* measure'

$L + N_L$:

üj e:ker pu:my 'land of five acres'

$W + N_W$:

öṭ pi:čm kapoṭy 'jaggery of eight *vi:če*'

89. N_{ql} —>

naṣ	'beauty'
sinm	'anger with grudge'
poč	'green'
ni:lm	'blue'
....	
....	

90. N_M —> { *ašky* 'rice' ; *nīy* 'ghee' ; *eṇo:y* 'oil' ; *po:s̱* 'milk' ; .... ; .... }

ašky	'rice'
nīy	'ghee'
eṇo:y	'oil'
po:s̱	'milk'
....	
....	

91. N_L —>

neln	'land'
poθky	'distance'
toṛp	'dhoti'
pu:txuṯy	'cloak'
ko:ṛ	'cultivable land'
....	
....	

92. N_W —>

püḷy	'tamarind'
kapoṭy	'jaggery'
arsn	'turmeric'
....	
....	

93. N_{cn} —> N_{cns} + [Pl]

Count noun may be of singular and plural

N_{cns} :

kas̱	'stone'
me:ṇ	'tree'
pu:f	'flower'
kīḍf	'shrub'

N_{cn} + [Pl] :

kag-a:m	'stones'
me:ṇ-a:m	'trees'
pu:ʃ-a:m	'flowers'
kīḍf-a:m	'shrubs'

$$94.\quad PN \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} PPN \\ DPN \end{Bmatrix}$$

PPN stands for personal pronouns which have number distinction and DPN for demonstrative pronouns which do not have gender distinction.

PPN :

o:n	'I'
om	'we (incl.)'
em	'we (excl.)'
ni:	'you (sg.)'
nīm	'you (pl.)'

DPN :

aə	'he / she / it – that'
iə	'he / she / it – this'

$$95.\quad PPN \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} PPN_1 \\ PPN_2 \end{Bmatrix} + Nu$$

There are two kinds of personal pronouns, first person [PPN_1], second person [PPN_2] and Nu. stands for number suffixes.

96. DPN $\rightarrow \left\{ \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{RDPN} \\ \text{PDPN} \end{matrix} \right\} + \text{person} + \text{number} \right\}$

Demonstrative pronouns are divided into remote demonstrative pronoun [RDPN] and proximate pronoun [PDPN].

RDPN :

a-θ	'he / she / it – that'
a-θ – a:m	'they'

PDPN :

i-θ	'he/she/it–this'
i-θ–a:m	'they'

97. Vd $\rightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} Vd_p \\ Vd_n \end{matrix} \right\}$

Vd_p stands for defective positive verb and Vd_n stan ds for defective negative verb.

Vd_p :

aθ enk pe:kīyi	'I want it'

Vd_n :

aθ enk kwīḷīyi	'I don't want that'

98. Cl $\rightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} [Cl_1]\ [Cl_2] \\ Cl_3 \end{matrix} \right\}$

Clitics Cl_1 may be followed by Cl_2.

$N + Cl_1 + VP$:

aθ-m pi:či 'he also went'

$N + Cl_2 + VP$:

aθ-to:n pi:či 'he went'

$N + Cl_1 + Cl_2 + VP$:

aθ-m to:n pi:či 'he also went'

$N + Cl_3 + VP$:

makolkem pī:k : 'go atleast to-morrow'

99. $Cl_1 \rightarrow$ *m*

100. $Cl_2 \rightarrow$ *to:n*

101. $Cl_3 \rightarrow$ *e:n*

For their further classification see section VI.

102. Part —> {
pīn 'afterwards'
maṟč 'again'
me:l 'above'
ki:ḷ 'below'
uṯg 'inside'
....
....
}

For their further classification see section VII.

9.2. Grammatical transformation

9.2.1. Relative participle

Toda as other Dravidian languages has a category called relative participle which is used to form a kind of construction

correspondig to English relative clause. Relative participle has the characteristics of verb and adjective. It is partly a verb because it has temporal reference and partly an adjective since it qualifies a noun. There are three kinds of relative participles in Toda, 1. Past relative participle, 2 Present-future relative participle and 3. Negative relative participle.

Relative participle is always in construction with the following noun.

a:nk podfoy o:ṭa:m

1 2 3

Here ***pod-ø-foy*** 'came' (adj.) is the relative participle and it is in construction with *o:ṭa:m* 'persons' *foy* is the participle marker which follows the tense marker - ø.

Relative participle in Toda always preceds the noun which it qualifies.

podfoy o:ṭa:m 'the persons who came'. But in English the relative clause follows the noun as in

'persons who came'

It is found that the relative participle has different grammatical relationships with the noun that follows.

1. Subject-predicate relationship

   podfoy o:ṭa:m 'persons who came'

2. Object-predicate relationship

   öštfoy poṇy 'the work which (someone) said'

3. Instrumental–predicate relationship

kwartfoy mošt 'the axe with which (someone) cut'

4. Dative–predicate relationship

mo:ṟfoy ko:s 'the money to which (someone) sold'

5. Locative–predicate relationship

pi:t o:ḷa:ṟ 'the path in which (someone) goes'

6. Purposive–predicate relationship

uḍt ni:r 'the water that is used for drinking'

9.2 1.1. Subject–predicate relationship

When the head of the noun pharse is the same as the subject of the sentence we find that the same relationship (Subject–predicate) in the phrase also. In the following sentence Relative participle (2) and noun (3) show the subject–predicate relation.

1. *o:n podt o:ṭṇ kozpini*
 1 2 3 4
 'I saw the man who comes'

This sentenee is derived when the constituent sentence

2. *o:ṭ podti*
 1 2
 'the man comes'

is embedded into the matrix sentence

3. *ó:n o:ṭṇ koẓpini*
1 2 3
'I saw the man'

Note that when the constituent sentence is embedded into the noun phrase-we find two identical nouns one in the constituent and another in the matrix and the resultant sentence undergoes many transformations we get the resultant sentence,

o:n [o:ṭ podti] o:ṭṇ koẓpini

(The constituent sentence is within parentheses) and this undergoes the following transformational rules.

Relativization transformation

SD:	*o:n*	*o:ṭ*	*podti*	*o:ṭṇ*		*koẓpini*
	1	2	3	4	5	6
	NP	NP	VP	NP	Obj.S.	VP

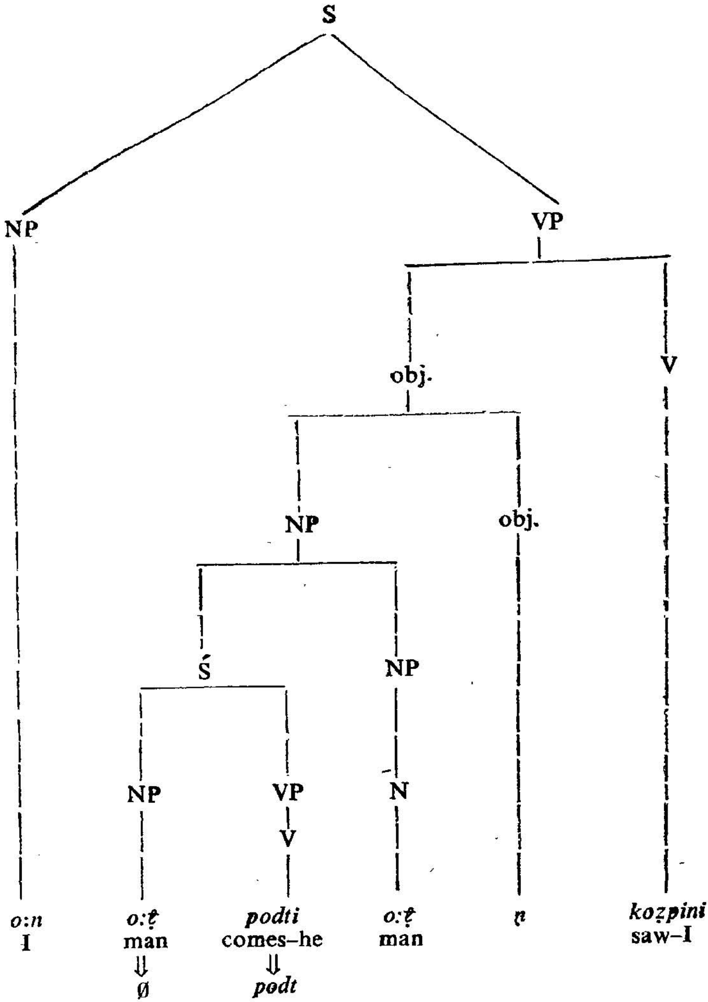
SC: 1+2+3+4+5+6 ⇒ 1+2+3—R.P.+4+5+6.

Equi NP deletion transformation

SD: NP+NP+VP—R.P.+NP+Obj.S.+VP
1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1+2+3—R.P.+4+5+6 ⇒ 1+3+4+5+6
if 2=4

(Since 2=4, 2 is deleted)


S
NP
VP
obj.
V
NP
obj.
Ś
NP
NP
VP
V
N
o:n
I
o:ṭ
man
⇓
ø
podti
comes–he
⇓
podt
o:ṭ
man
ṇ
koẓpini
saw–I

9.2.1.2. Object-predicate relationship

When the head of the noun phrase is the same as the object of the sentence we find the same relation (object – predicate) in the phrase also. In the following sentence Relative participle (3) and noun (4) show the object – predicate relation.

4. *o:n nīm öšt kelcn kīspini*
1 2 3 4 5
'I shall do the work which you say'

This sentence is derived when the constituent sentence,

5. *nīm kelc öštši*
1 2 3
'you say the work'

is embedded into the NP of the matrix sentence

6. *o:n kelcn kīspini*
1 2 3
'I do the work'

we get,

o:n [*nīm kelc öštši*] *kelc n kīspini*
NP [NP NP VP] NP Obj.S VP

[The constituent sentence is within parentheses] and this undergoes the following transformational rules.

Relativization transformation

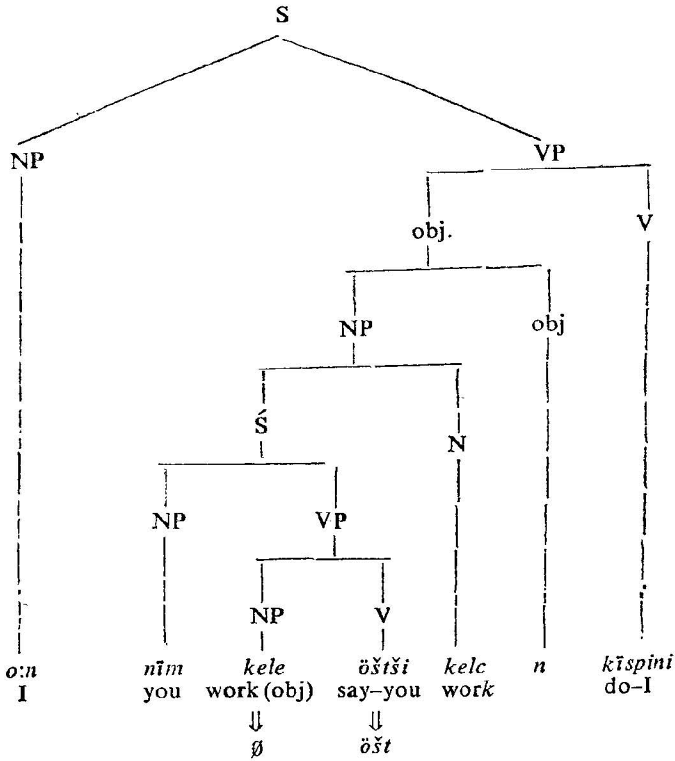
SD : *o:n nīm kelc öštši kelc n kīspini*
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
NP NP NP VP NP Obj.S. VP

SC: 1+2+3+4+5+6+7 ⇒ 1+2+3+4–R.P.+5+6+7

Equi NP deletion transformation

SD : NP + NP + NP + VP-R.P. + NP + Obj.S. + VP
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

SC : 1+2+3+4–R.P.+5+6+7 ⇒ 1+2+4+5+6+7
If 3 = 5
[Since 3 = 5, 3 is deleted.]



9.2.1.3. Instrumental-predicate relationship

When the head of the noun phrase is the same as the instrument of the sentence we find that the same relation (Inst.-predicate) in the phrase also. In the following sentence, Relative participle (2) and noun (3) show the instrumental-predicate relation.

7. *o:n kwartfoy mošt uṯṣ wīḍy*
   1 2 3 4 5
   'the axe with which I cut is inside'

This sentence is derived when the constituent sentence,

8. *o:n moštiṯ kwaršpini*
   1 2 3
   'I cut with an axe'
   1 3 2

is embedded into the NP of matrix sentence

9. *mošt uṯṣ wīḍy*
   1 2 3
   'the axe is inside'
   1 3 2

we get,

[*o:n moštiṯ kwaršpini*] *mošt uṯṣ wīḍy*
NP NP VP NP Adv. VP

(The constituent sentence is within parentheses) and this undergoes the following transformational rules.

Relativization transformation rule

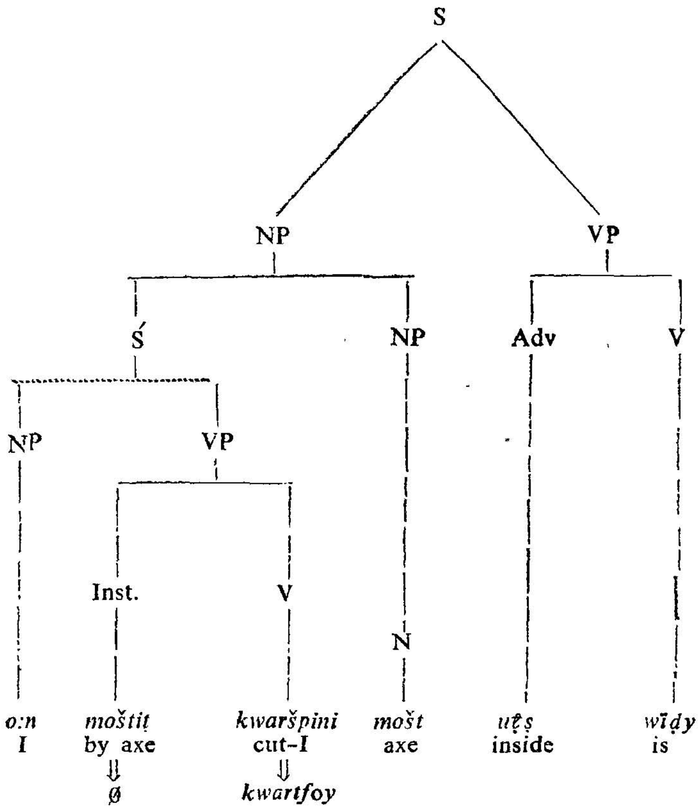
SD :	*o:n*	*moštiṯ*	*kwaršpini*	*mošt*	*uṯṣ*	*wīḍy*
	NP	NP	VP	NP	Adv.	VP
	1	2	3	4	5	6

SC : 1+2+3+4+5+6 ⇒ 1+2+3–R.P.+4+5+6

Equi NP deletion transformation rule

SD: NP + NP + VP–R.P. + NP + Adv. + VP
1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1 + 2 + 3-R.P + 4 + 5 + 6 ⇒ 1 + 3 + 4 + 5 + 6
If 2 = 4
(Since 2 = 4, 2 is deleted)



9.2.1.4. Dative predicate relationship

When the head of the noun phrase is the same as the dative of the sentence we find that the same relation (Dat-predicate) in the phrase also. In the following sentence Relative participle (3) and noun (4) show the dative-predicate relationship.

10. *ni: ki:č mo:r̲yfoy ko:sn e:spi*
    1 2 3 4 5
    'you (sg.) took the money to which you sold the
    1 5 4 1 3
    potato
    2

This sentence is derived when the constituent sentence,

11. *ni: ko:sk ki:č mor̲špi*
    1 2 3 4
    'you sold potato for money'

is embedded into the matrix sentence

12. *ni: ko:sn e:spi*
    1 2 3
    'you took money'

we get,

ni:	*[ni:*	*ko:sk*	*ki:č*	*mo:r̲špi]*	*ko:s*	*n*	*e:spi*
NP	NP	Dat.	NP	VP	NP	Obj.S.	VP
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

(the constituent sentence is within parentheses) and this undergoes the following transformational rules.

Relativization transformation rule

SD :	*ni:*	*ni:*	*ko:sk*	*ki:č*	*mo:ṛšpi*	*k:os*	*n*	*e:spi*
	NP	NP	Dat.	NP	VP	NP	Obj.S.	VP
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

SC: 1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5 + 6 + 7 + 8 ⇒
1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5–R.P. + 6 + 7 + 8

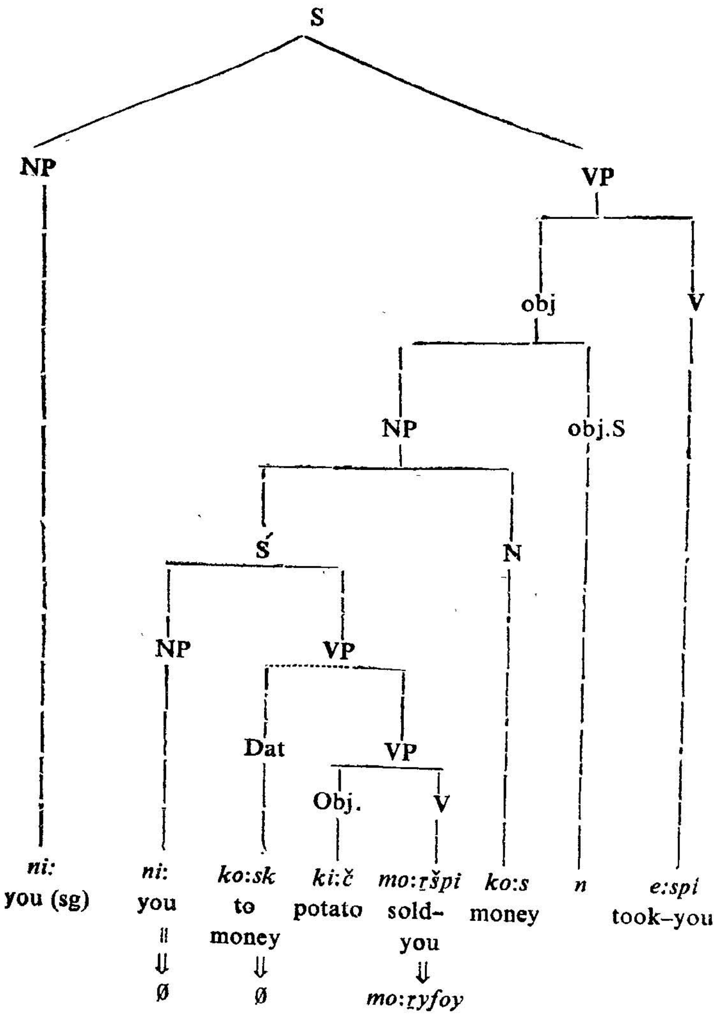
Equi NP deletion transformation rule

SD:	NP+	NP+	Dat.+	NP+	VP-R.P.+	NP+	Obj.S.+	VP
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

SC: 1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5-R.P.+ 6 + 7 + 8 ⇒
1 + 4 + 5 + 6 + 7 + 8

if 1=2 and 3=6

(Since 1=2, 2 is deleted and 3=6, 3 is deleted)


S
NP
VP
obj
V
NP
obj.S
S′
N
NP
VP
Dat
VP
Obj.
V
ni:
you (sg)
ni:
you
⇓
Ø
ko:sk
to money
⇓
Ø
ki:č
potato
mo:ṟšpi
sold-you
⇓
mo:ṟyfoy
ko:s
money
n
e:spi
took–you

9.2.1.5. Locative-predicate relationship

When the head of the noun phrase is the same as the locative of the sentence we find that the same relation (loc.-predicate) in the phrase also. In the following sentence, Relative participle (3) and noun (4) show the locative-predicate relation.

16. *iə wīṣo:ṭ pī:t o:ṭa:ṛ*
1 2 3 4
'this (is) the path in which priest goes'
1 4 2 3

This sentence is derived when the constituent sentence

17. *wīṣo:ṭ o:ṭa:ṛṣ pi:ti*
1 2 3
'priest goes in the path'
1 3 2

is embedded into the matrix sentence

18. *iə o:ṭa:ṛ īyi*
1 2 3
'This is the path'
1 3 2

we get,

iə [wīṣo:ṭ o:ṭa:ṛṣ pi:ti] o:ṭa:ṛ
NP NP NP–Loc. VP NP
1 2 3 4 5

(the constituent sentence is within parentheses) and this undergoes the following transformational rules.

Relativization transformation rule

SD: *iθ* *wīso:ṭ* *o:ṭa:ṛs* *pi:ti* *o:ṭa:ṛ*

NP NP NP Loc.S. VP NP

1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1+2+3+4+5+6 ⇒ 1+2+3+4+5–R.P.+6

Equi NP deletion transformation rule

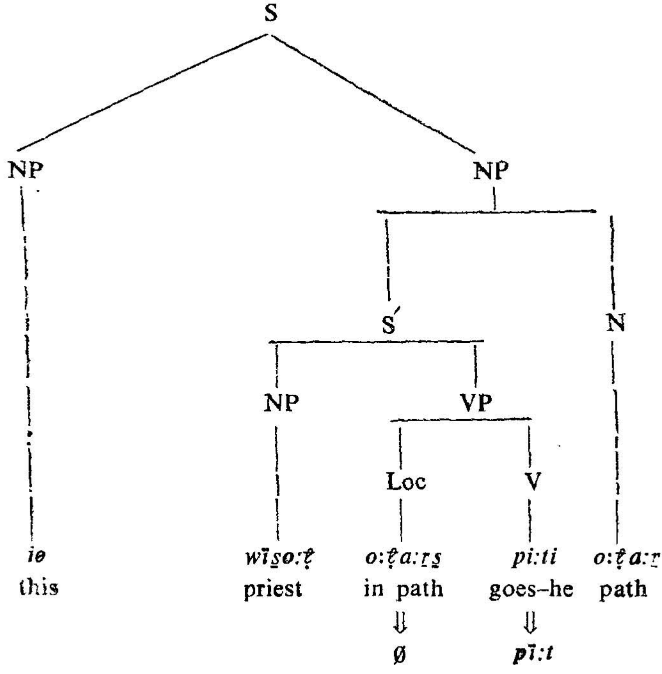
SD: NP+NP+NP+Loc.S+VP–R.P.+NP

1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1+2+3+4+5–RP+6 ⇒ 1+2+4+5+6

If 3=6

(Since 3=6, 3 is deleted)



9.2.1 6. Purposive-predicate relationship

When the head of the noun phrase is the same as the purposive of the sentence we find that the same relation (Purp. - predicate) in the phrase also. In the following sentence Relative participle (2) and noun (3) show the purposive - predicate relation.

iə udt ni:r

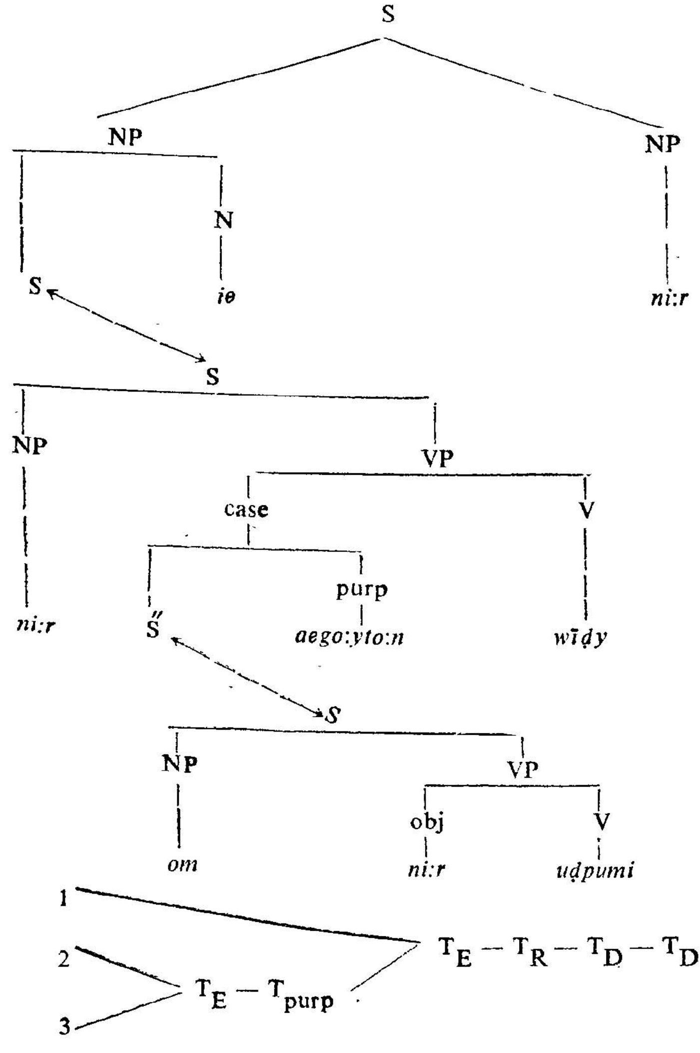
1 2 3

this (is) drinking water'

1 2 3

No transformational rule is applied in phrase marker (3). Embed this in the base phrase marker (2) in the place of S̋, by a generalised substitution transformation T_E and the phrase marker *ni:r* 'water' *em* 'we' *ni:r udpumi/uḍkum* 'will drink-we' *aəgo:y to.n* 'for that purpose' *wīḍy* 'is' obtained. To this apply the purposive transformation T_{purp}, so as to enable to get the expression *uḍfīḍtgo:yto:n* 'for the purpose of drinking'. Now we get the phrase marker *ni:r* 'water' *em* 'we' *uḍfīḍtgo:yto:n* 'for drinking' *wīḍy* 'is' which will be embedded in turn in the base phrase marker (1) in the place of Ś by T_E. The resultant phrase marker is *ni:r* 'water' *em* 'we', *ni:r* 'water' *uḍfīḍtgo:yto:n* 'for the purpose of drinking' *wīḍy* 'is' *iə* ,this-it' *ni:r* 'water' is obtained.

When we apply the relativization transformation T_E to this phrase marker *ni:r* 'water' *em* 'we' *uḍfīḍtgo:yto:n* 'for the purpose of drinking' *wīḍt* 'is (adj)' *ni:r* 'water' *iə* 'this-it', *ni:r* 'water' is obtained.


S
NP
NP
N
S
iθ
ni:r
S
NP
VP
case
V
purp
ni:r
S″
aego:yto:n
wīḍy
S
NP
VP
obj
V
om
ni:r
uḍpumi
1
2
3
T_E — T_R — T_D — T_D
T_E — T_purp

To this deletion transformation T_D is applied and the repeated NP *ni:r* 'water' *em* 'we (excl.)' are deleted.

The resultant phrase marker is *uḍfīḍtgo:yto:n* 'for drinking' *wīḍt* 'is (adj.)' *ni:r* 'water' *iə* 'this - it' is obtained. In order to get *uḍt ni:r* 'drinking water' again T_D, the deletion transformation is applied. The resultant pharse marker *uḍt* 'drinking' *ni:r* 'water' *iə* 'this-it'

By the permutation rule,

uḍt *ni:r* *iə*
drinking water this-it
1 2 3 ⇒
iə *uḍt* *ni:r*
'this-it drinking water'
3 + 1 + 2

which bring 1 between 3 and 2 and we get,

iə *uḍt* *ni:r*
1 2 3
'this (is) drinking water'
1 2 3

9.2.2. Relative participle plus particle

Relative participle can also be in construction with certain participle and the whole phrase modifies the verb phrase. In the following sentence,

o:n aə öštfoy mo:tiry kīspini
1 2 3 4 5
'I did as he said'

ǒšt-∅-foy is the relative participle and *mo:tiry* 'that way' is the particle and the phrase *ǒštfoy mo:tiry* is in construction with the following verb *kīspini* 'did - I'. The tense of the relative participle is conditioned by the particle occuring in the embedding sentence. The finite verb of the constituent sentence is followed by *mo:tiry* 'that way'. The verb phrase is modified when the participle *mo:tiry* follows it. Only a few particles alone can occur with past relative participle.

Particle set up in the marix	gloss	forms set up in the matrix	Occurrence
mo:tiry	'that way'	*mo:tiry*	Past R.P.

9.2.2.1. Relative participle + particle

a mo:tiry 'in that way'

a mo:tiry 'in that way' occurs after past relative participle. The finite verb is converted into relative participle when it is followed by *a mo:tiry*. In the following sentence (3) and (4) show the relative participle-particle relation.

19. *o:n ae ǒštfoy mo:tiry kīspini*
1 2 3 4 5
'I did as he said'

This sentence is derived by embedding the constituent sentence

20. *ae ǒšči*
1 2
'he said'
1 2

into the matrix sentence

21. *o:n a mo:tiry kīspini*
1 2 3

'I did in that way
1 3 2

The matrix sentence contains *a mo:tiry* 'in that way'. The finite verb *ösči* 'said–he' of the constituent sentence is converted into *öštfoy* 'said (adj.)' when the constituent sentence is embedded into the matrix sentence

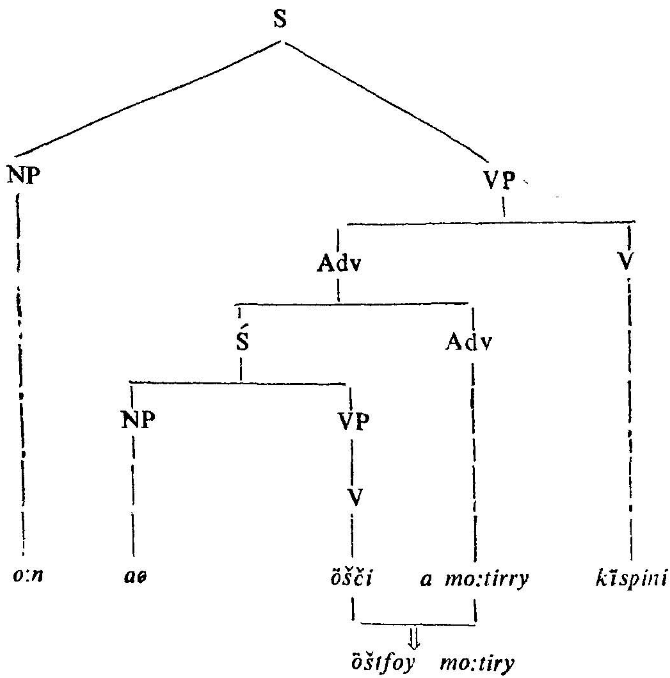
o:n	[*aə*	*öšči*]	*a mo:tiry*	*kīṣpini*
NP	NP	VP	Adv.	VP
1	2	3	4	5

(the costituent sentence is within parenthesis) and this undergoes the following transformational rule.

Relativization transformation

SD:	*o:n*	*aə*	*öšči*	*a mo:tiry*	*kīspini*
	NP	NP	VP	Adv.	VP
	1	2	3	4	5

SC: 1+2+3+4+5 ⇒ 1+2+3–RP+4+5



9.2.2.2. *pīn* 'after / afterwards'

In the following sentence,

o:n aθ pi:foy pīn pozpini
1 2 3 4 5

pi:foy is the relative participle and *pīn* 'after / afterwards' is the particle and the phrase *pi:foy pīn* is in construction with the following verb *pozpini* 'came–I'. The tense of the relative participle is conditioned by the particle occurring in embedding sentence. The finite verb of the consituent sentence

is followed by *pīn* 'after/afterwards'. The verb pharse is modified when the particle *pīn* follows it.

pīn 'after/afterwards' occurs after past relative participle. The finite verb is converted into relative participle when it is followed by *pīn*. In the following sentence (3) and (4) show the relative participle-particle relation.

22. *o:n ae pi:fov pīn pozpini*
1 2 3 4 5
'I came after he left'
1 5 4 2 3

This sentence is derived by embedding the consitutent sentence

23. *ae pi:či*
1 2
'He went'
1 2

into the matrix sentence

24. *o:n pīn pozpini*
1 2 3
'I came afterwards'
1 3 2

The matrix sentence contains *pīn* 'after/afterwards'. The finite verb *pi:či* 'went-he' of constituent sentence is converted into *pi:foy* went (adj.) when the constituent sentence is embedded into the matrix sentence

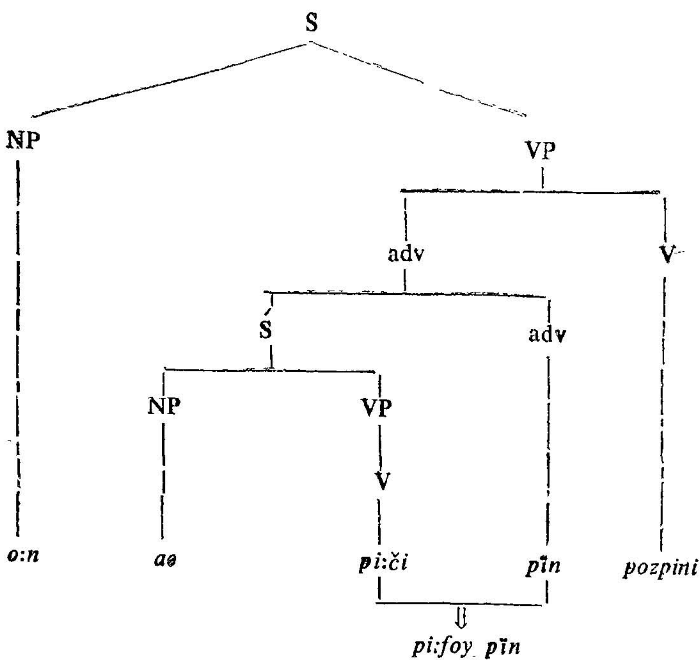
.o:n	*[ae*	*pi:či]*	*pīn*	*pozpini*
NP	NP	VP	Adv.	VP
1	2	3	4	5

(the constituent sentence is within parenthesis) and this undergoes the following transformational rule.

Relativization transformation

SD :	*o:n*	*aθ*	*pi:či*	*pīn*	*pozpini*
	NP	NP	VP	Adv.	VP
	1	2	3	4	5

SC : 1+2+3+4+5 ⇒ 1+2+3–RP+4+5



9.2.3. Verbal participle

In Toda language there is a verbal category called verbal participle which is used to express action performed by the subject when two or more actions are expressed in a sentence. The participle actions of the subject is always expressed by the finite verbs which always occur after the verbal participles which express the subordinate actions. In English such actions are usually expressed by a series of finite verbs joined by conjunctions. Verbal participle is in construction with the following verb.

	Meaning	Form set up in the matrix sentence	
1.	Object	N + n (Obj.)	
2.	Consecutive	*pīn*	'afterwards'
3.	Manner	*agīs*	'in that manner'
4.	Causal	*aena:l*	'because of that'

9.2.3.1 Object N + n (Obj.)

mutna:s kelcn kīs mutfiči

'Mutnas did the work and finished'

9.2.3.2. Consecutive *pīn* 'after/afterwards'

o:n īrn kars pīn pojo:rtk pi:pini

'having milked the buffalo, I will proceed to Ootacamund afterwards'

9.2.3.3. Manner *agīs* 'in that manner'

ni: nīloe pī:x 'you go without standing'

9.2.3 4 Causal

aθ-n-a:l 'because of that or by that'

ak ku:x kurubn nwī:ṣ oǰfiči

'having seen the Kurumba, the girl feard'

9.2.3.1. Object

mutna:ṣ kelcn kīs muṭfiči

1 2 3 4

'Mutnas did the work and finished'

1 3 2 4

is obtained from the matrix sentence

mutna:ṣ kelcn muṭfiči

1 2 3

'Mutnas has finished the work'

1 3 2

and from the constituent sentence

mutna:ṣ kelcn kīsči

1 2 3

'Mutnas did the work'

1 3 2

When the constituent sentence is embedded into the matrix sentence, the following resultant sentence is gotten.

mutna:ṣ [*mutna:ṣ kelcn kīsči*] *kelcn muṭfiči*

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

The following transformational rules are applied.

Verbal participalization transformation

SD: *mutna:ṣ mutua:ṣ kelcn kīsči kelc n muṭfiči*

NP_i NP_i Obj VP NP n VP

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

SC: $1+2+3+4+5+6+7 \Rightarrow 1+2+3+4\text{-VP}+5+6+7$

Equi NP deletion transformation

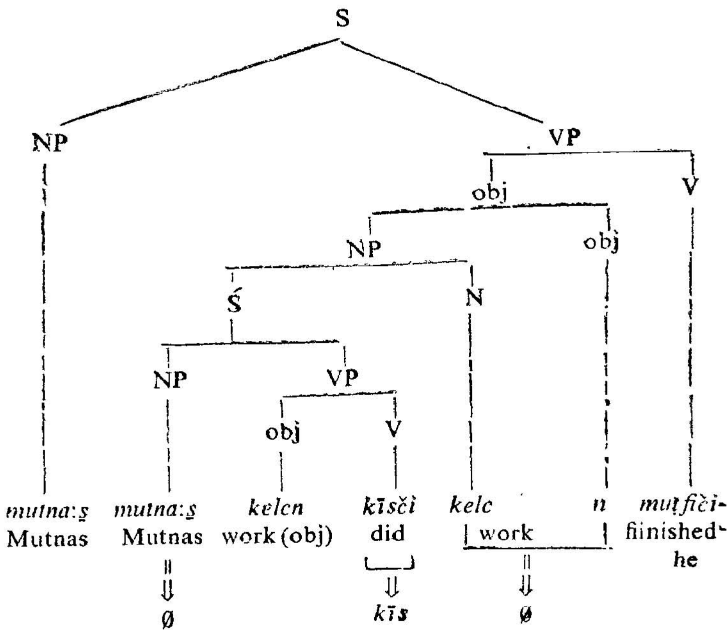
SD: $NP_i + NP_i + \text{Obj.} + VP + NP + n + VP$

$\quad 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \quad 6 \quad 7$

SC: $1+2+3+4\text{–V.P}+5+6+7 \Rightarrow 1+3+4\text{–V.P}+7$

if $1=2$ and $3=5$

(Since $1=2$, 2 is deleted. $3=5$, 5 is deleted.)



9.2.3.2. Consecutive

o:n ī rn kaṛs pīn pojo:rtk pi:pini
1 2 3 4 5 6

'having milked the buffalo, I will proced to
3 2 1 6

Ootacamund afterwards'
5 4

o:n pīn pojo:rtk pi:pini
1 2 3 4

'I will proceed to Ootacamund afterwards'

and the constituent sentence,

o:n ī rn kaṛspini
1 2 3

'I milked the buffalo'
1 3 2

The constituent sentence is embedded into matrix sentence.

The resultant sentence is

o:n [o:n ī rn kaṛspini] pīn pojo:rtk pi:pini
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

The following transformation rules are applied.

Verbal participalization transformation

SD: *o:n o:n ī rn kaṛspini pīn pojo:rtk pi:pini*
NP_i NP_i Obj. VP Adv. Obj. VP

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

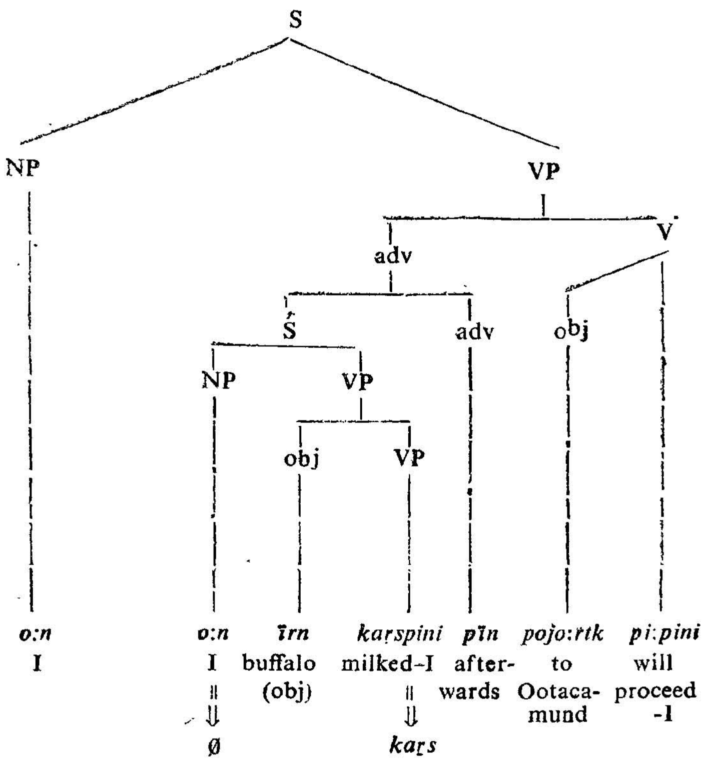
SC: 1+2+3+4+5+6+7 ⇒ 1+2+3+4–VP+5+6+7

Equi NP deletion transformation

SD: $NP_i + NP_i + Obj. + VP + Adv_t + Obj. + VP$

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

SC: 1+2+3+4-V.P+5+6+7 ⇒ 1+3+4-V.P+5+6+7
(Since 1=2, 2 is deleted)



9.2.3.3. Manner

ni: nīloə pī:x

'you go without waiting or standing'

is gotten from the matrix sentence

ni: agīs pī:x

'you go in that way'

and the constituent sentence

ni: niḏoṭi

'you don't wait or stand'

The contituent sentence is embedded into the matrix and the resultant sentence is

ni: [ni: nīḏoṭi] agīs pī:x

The following transformation rules are applied.

Verbal participalization transformation

SD: *ni: ni: nīḏoṭi agīs pī:x*

NP_i NP_i VP Adv_m VP

1 2 3 4 5

SC: $1+2+3+4+5 \Rightarrow 1+2+3\text{–V.P}+4+5$

Equi NP deletion transformation

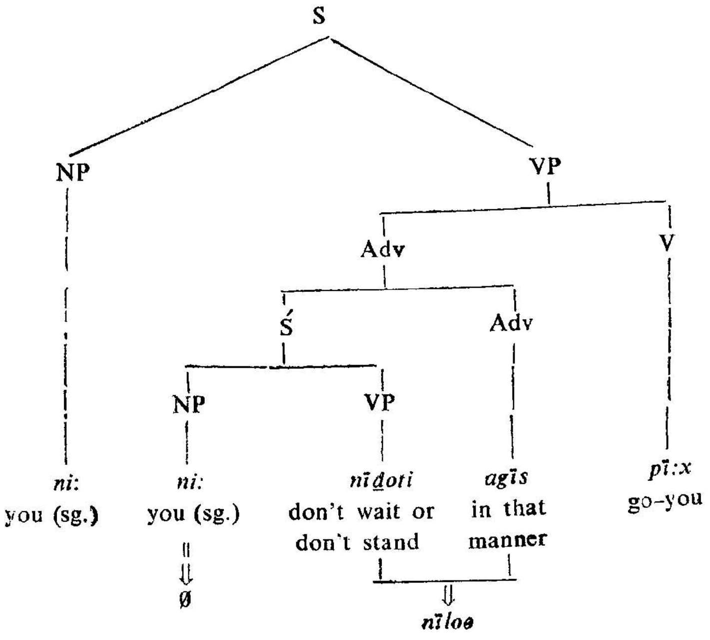
SD: $NP_i + NP_i + VP + Adv_m + VP$

1 2 3 4 5

SC: $1+2+3\text{–V.P}+4+5 \Rightarrow 1+3+5$

if $1=2$

(Since $1=2$, 2 is deleted)



9.2.3.4. Causal

ak ku:x kurubn nwī:ṣ oǰfiči
1 2 3 4

'having seen the Kurumba, the girl feard'

is gotten from the following sentences

ak ku:x aəna:l oǰfiči
1 2 3

'she feard because of that'
1 3 2

is the matrix sentence and

ak ku:x kurubn nwī:či
1 2 3
'she saw the Kurumbas'
1 3 2

The constituent sentence is embedded into the matrix sentence.

The resultant sentence is,

ak ku:x [ak ku:x kurubn nwī:či] aəna:l oǰfiči

The following transformational rules are applied.

Verbal participalization transformation

SD : *ak ku:x ak ku:x kurubn nwī:či aəna:l oǰfici*

	NP	NP	Obj.	VP	Ins.	VP
	1	2	3	4	5	6

SC : 1+2+3+4+5+6 ⇒ 1+2+3+4–V.P.+5+6

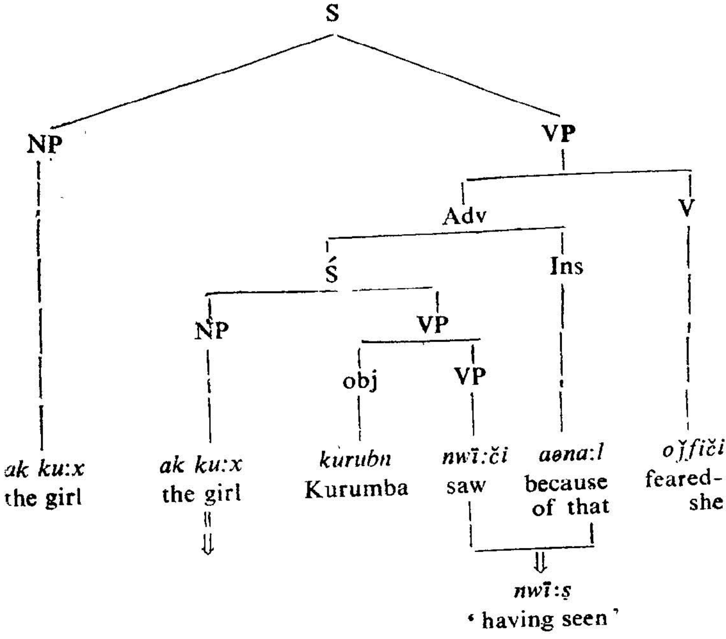
Equi NP deletion transformation

SD : NP_i + NP_i + Obj. + VP + Ins. + VP

1 2 3 4 5 6

SC : 1+2+3+4–V.P.+5+6 ⇒ 1+3+4–V.P.+6

If 1 = 2
(Since 1 = 2, 2 is deleted.)



9.2.4. Infinitive

There is no infinitive as such in Toda; but corresponding to Tamil infinitive we find verbal noun plus *k* in Toda. That is to say verbal noun plus dative case marker functions as an infinitive. In Tamil also we find such constructions which are considered as verbal noun + dative case as in

na:n po:vataṟku vante:n 'I came to go'

9.2.5. Coordinate constructions

'A coordination is a construction consisting of two or more members which are equivalent as to grammatical function

and bound together at the same level of structural hierarchy by means of a linking device[1]'.

In Toda language there are two types of coordinations. They might be called correlative type and non-correlative type. There are three correlative coordinators in Toda. 1) Additive 2) Dubitative and 3) alternative.

In Toda

mutxe:n pi:či
1 2
'Mutikan went'
1 2
ka:wxwīṭn pi:či
1 2
'Kawkuttan went'
1 2

can be coordinate and the resultant sentence will be

mutxe:nm ka:wxwīṭnm pi:či
'Mutikan and Kawkuttan went'

Here the noun phrases are coordinated. There is no singular plural distinction in the third person finite verb forms in Toda language. This kind of coordination is possible only when different nouns occur as subjects and the verb is the one and the same. In the following sentence,

ni:pa:w pi:či 'Nipaw went'
pi:ṭro:jn pi:či 'Peter Rajan went'

The finite verb *pi:či is* the same

ni:pa:wm pi:ṭro:jnm pi:či
'Nipaw and Peter Rajan went'

1 Simon, C. Dik, *Coordination, its implications for the theory of General Linguistics*, p. 25.

o:n mutna:ṣ koẓpini 'I saw Mutnas'

o:n sinmuṛy koẓpini 'I saw Sinmury'

The above sentences are responsible for the following,

o:n mutna:ṣm sinmuṛym koẓpiui

'I saw Mutnas and Simury'

Here the objects *mu:na:ṣ* and *sinmuṛy* are combined. The conjucative - *m* is added to both the nouns. In this case also, the verb should be one and the same. This can be extended to other grammatical categories also.

The additive construction has the clitic - *m*, dubitative- *isky* and alternative – *oynum* or *em* in the matrix sentences in the deep structure.

9 2.5.1. Additive

9.2.5.1.1.

In this type of coordinate construction either the noun phrase or verb phrase can be conjoined. The noun phrases that are conjoined can either be the subject of the sentence or be part of the verb phrase.

sinmuṛym tõwbnĩṣm pi:či 'Sinmury and Tebnis went'

is gotten by conjoining the matrix sentences

sinmuṛy pi:či 'Simury went'

tõwbnĩṣ pi:či 'Tebnis went'

sinmuṛy and *töwbnīṣ* are subjects of the two matrix sentences. The two matrix sentences are conjoined and the resultant sentence will be,

Conj- *sinmuṛy pi:či töwbnīṣ pi:či*

This undregoes the following transformation rules.

Coordination conjoining transformation

SD:	Conj-	*Sinmuṛy*	*pi:či*	*Töwbnīṣ*	*pi:či*[1]
	X	NP	VP	NP	VP
		1	2	3	4

SC: X—1+2+3+4 ⇒ 1—X+2+3—X+4

VP Deletion transformation

SD: NP- Conj + VP + NP — Conj + VP
1 2 3 4

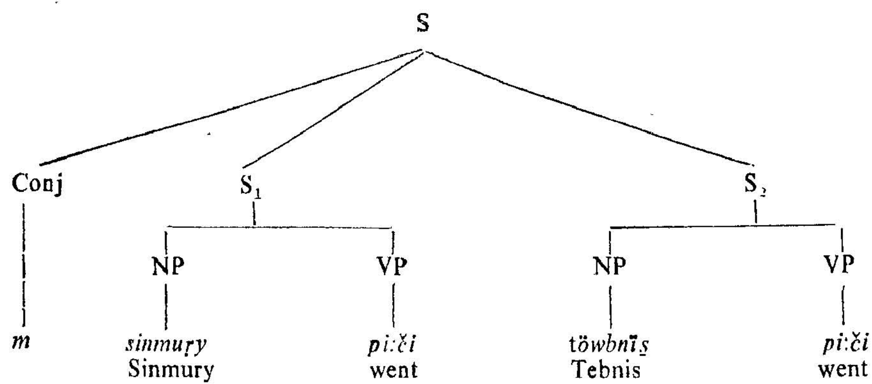
SC: 1—Conj+2+3—Conj+4 ⇒ 1—Conj+2+3—Conj.

Residue switch rule

SD: NP- Conj + VP + NP — Conj
1 2 3

SC: 1—Conj+2+3—Conj ⇒ 1—Conj+3—Conj+2

1 Unlike in Tamil there is no singular and plural distinction in the third person finite verb forms in Toda language.



Coordination conjoining: *sinmuṛym* *pi:či* ⇓ *töwbnīṣm* *pi:či*

Deletion: *pi:či* ⇓ Ø

Residue switch: *sinmuṛym* *pi:či* ⇓ *töwbnīṣm*

sinmuṛym *töwbnīṣm* *pi:či*
sinmury–and Tebnis–and went

9.2.5.1.2. In the following sentence the noun pharses that are conjoined are part of verb phrase.

o:n pot īrm üj koṟm kwīṛspini
1 2 3 4

'I gave ten buffaloes and five calves'
1 4 2 3

is gotten from the matrix sentence

o:n pot īr kwīṛspini 'I gave ten buffaloes'
o:n üj koṟ kwīṛspini 'I gave five calves'

The two matrix sentences are conjoined and the resultant sentence will be,

Conj- *o:n pot īr kwīṛspini o:n üj koṟ kwīṛspini*

This undergoes the following transformational rules.

Coordination conjoining transformation

SD: Conj– *o:n potīr kwīṛspini o:n üj koṟ kwīṛspini*
X 1 2 3 4 5 6
NP Obj. VP NP Obj. VP

SC: X-1+2+3+4+5+6 ⇒ 1+2-X+3+4+5-X+6

VP Deletion transformation

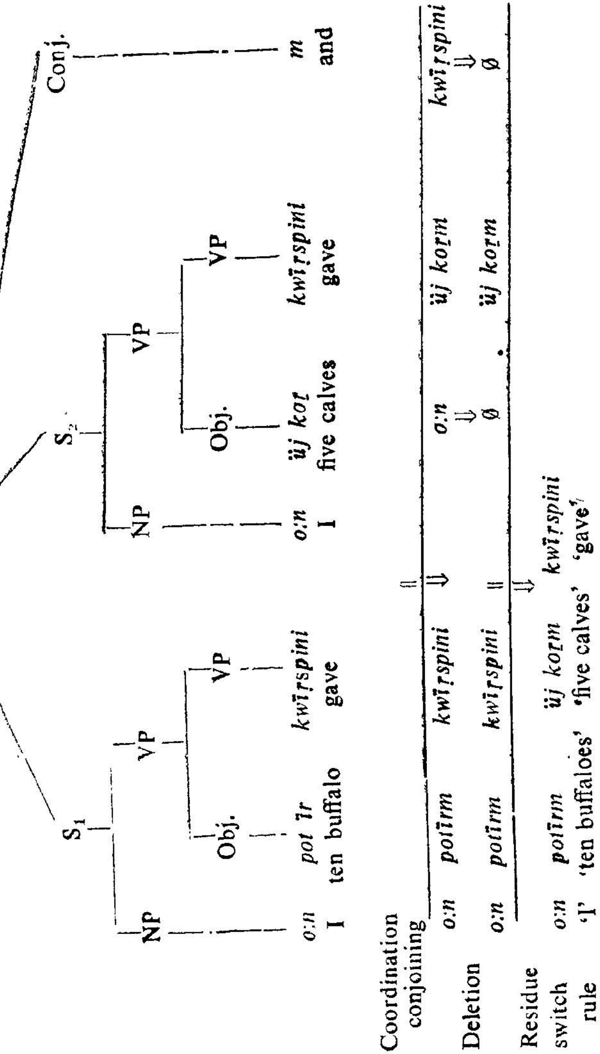
SD: NP + Obj. -X + VP + NP + Obj.-X + VP
1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1+2-X+3+4+5-X+6 ⇒ 1+2-X+3+5-X

Residue switch rule

SD: NP + Obj.-X + VP + Obj.-X
1 2 3 5

SC: 1+2-X+3+5-X ⇒ 1+2-X+5-X+3


S
S1
S2
Conj.
NP
VP
Obj.
VP
o:n
I
pot ïr
ten buffalo
kwïṛspini
gave
NP
VP
Obj.
VP
o:n
I
üj koṭ
five calves
kwïṛspini
gave
m
and
Coordination conjoining
o:n potïrm kwïṛspini ⇒ o:n üj koṛm kwïṛspini
Deletion
o:n potïrm kwïṛspini ⇒ ∅ üj koṛm ∅
Residue switch rule
o:n potïrm üj koṛm kwïṛspini
'I' 'ten buffaloes' 'five calves' 'gave'

9.2.5.1.3. In the following sentences the noun phrases that are conjoined are part of verb phrase.

sinxe:n pot īrm ni:pa:w öṭ koṛm mo:ṛči
'Sinkan sold ten buffaloes and Nipaw sold eight calves'

is gotten from the following matrix sentences

sinxe:n potīr mo:ṛči 'Sinkan sold ten buffaloes'
ni:pa:w öṭ koṛ mo:ṛči 'Nipaw sold eight calves'

The two matrix sentences are conjoined and the resultant sentence will be,

Conj- *sinxe:n potīr mo:ṛči ni:pa:w ötkoṛ mo:ṛči*

The finite verb *mo:ṛči*[1] 'sold-he/they' is the same in both the matrix sentences. Eventhough the subjects are different, the finite verbs are the same.

This undergoes the following transformation rules.

Coordination conjoining transformation

SD: Conj- *sinxe:n potīr mo:ṛči ni:pa:w öṭ koṛ mo:ṛči*
1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: $X—1+2+3+4+5+6 \Rightarrow 1+2—X+3+4+5—X+6$

VP Deletion transformation

SD: NP + Obj — X + VP + NP + Obj — X + VP
1 2 3 4 5 6

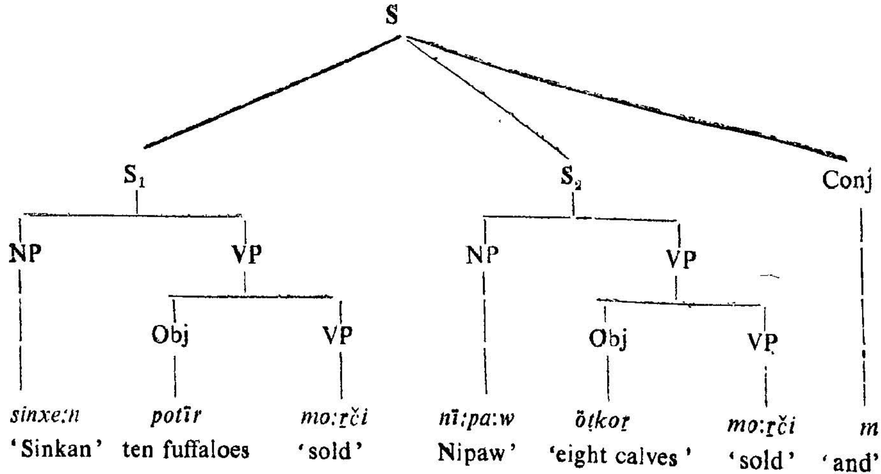
SC: $1+2—X+3+4+5—X+6 \Rightarrow 1+2—X+3+4+5—X$

Residue switch rule

SD: NP + Obj — X + VP + NP + Obj — X
1 2 3 4 5

SC: $1+2—X+3+4+5—X \Rightarrow 1+2—X+4+5—X+3$

1 There is no singular, plural distinction in third person finite verb forms.



Coordination				⇓			
conjoining	*sinxe:n*	*potīrm*	*mo:ṛči*	⇓	*ni:pa:w*	*öṭ koṛm*	*mo:ṛči* ⇓
Deletion	*sinxe:n*	*potīr–m*	*mo:ṛči*		*ni·pa:w*	*öt koṛm*	ø
				⇓			
Residue	*sinxe:n*	*potīrm*		⇓	*ni:pa:w*	*öṭ koṛm*	*mo:ṛči*
Switch rule	sinkan	ten fuffaloes			nipaw	eight calves	sold

9.2.5.2. Dubitative

9.2 5.2.1.

mutna:ṣisky mutxe:nisky podti
1 2 3
'either Mutnas or Mutikan will come'
1 2 3

is gotten from the following matrix sentences.

1. *mutna:ṣ podti*
2. *mutxe:n podti*

The finite verb *podti* 'will come-he' is the same in both the matrix sentences and the subjects are different.

The two matrix sentences are conjoined and the resultant sentence is

Conj.—*mutna:ṣ podti mutxe:n podti*

This undergoes the following transformation rules

Coordination conjoining transformation

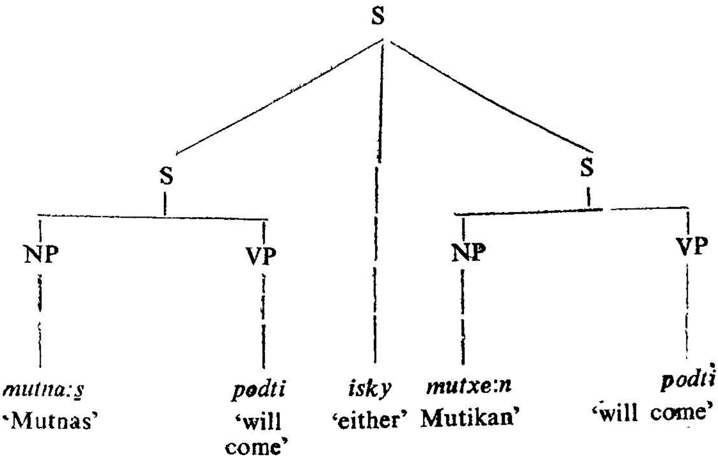
SD : Conj. — *mutna:ṣ podti mutxe:n podti*
X NP VP NP VP
1 2 3 4

SC : X-1+2+3+4 ⇒ 1-X+2+3-X+4

VP Deletion transformation

SD : NP-X + VP + NP-X + VP
1 2 3 4

SC : 1-X+2+3-X+4 ⇒ 1-X+3-X+4



Coordination conjoining: *mutna:ṣisky podti mutxe:nisky podti*

⇓

Deletion: *mutna:ṣisky* Ø *mutxe:nisky podti*

9.5.2.3. Alternative

9.5.2.3 1.

Coordinator of alternative type can combine the sentences only when the finite verbs are non-past (future).

sinmuṛy oynum mutna:ṣ oynum pi:ti

1 2 3

'either Sinmury or Mutnas will go'

is gotten from the following matrix sentences,

sinmuṛy pi:ti 'Sinmury will go'

mutna:ṣ pi:ti 'Mutnas will go'

The finite verb *pi:ti* is the same in both the matrix sentences. Eventhough subjects are different, verbs are the same.

The two matrix sentences are conjoined and the resultant sentence will be,

Conj- *sinmuṛy pi:ti mutna:ṣ pi:ti*

This undergoes the following transformation rules.

Coordination conjoining transformation

SD: Conj– *sinmuṛy pi:ti mutna:ṣ pi:ti*

X	NP	VP	NP	VP
	1	2	3	4

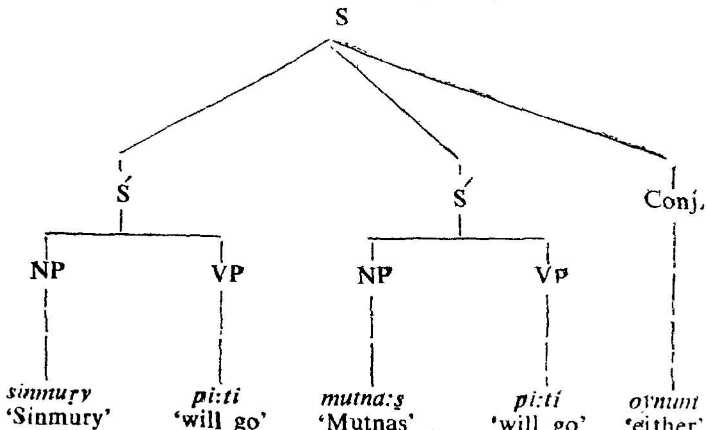
SC: X–1+2+3+4 ⇒ 1–X+2+3–X+4

Deletion transformation

SD: NP– X + VP + NP– X + VP

1	2	3	4

SC: 1–X+2+3–X+4 ⇒ 1–X+3–X+4



Coordination conjoining   *sinmuṛyoynum pi:ti mutna:ṣoynum pi:ti*

⇓

Deletion   ø

sinmuṛyoynum mutna:ṣoynum pi:ti

9.5.2.4. Non-correlative type

In Toda we have another type of coordinators which are called non-correlative coordinators.

o:n monšpini e:d̲īd̲wīṛ aθ en ko:tfoy
'I forgave because she is my wife'

is gotten from the following matrix sentences.

o:n monšpini 'I forgave'
aθ en ko:tfoy 'she is my wife'

The two matrix sentences are conjoined and the resultant sentence is,

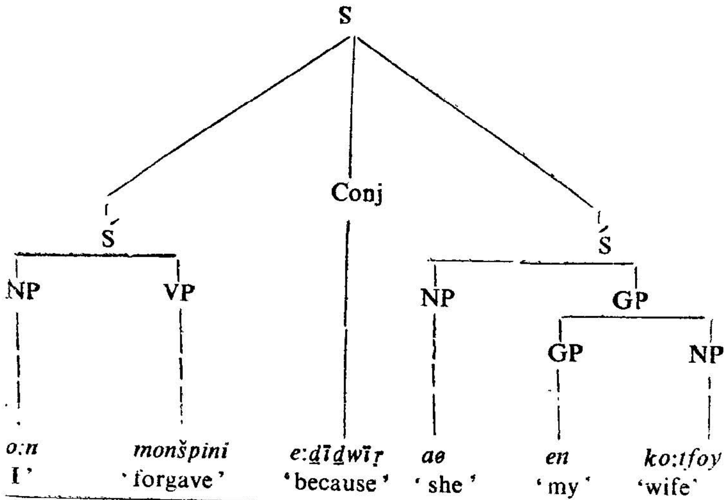
Conj- *o:n monšpini aθ en ko:tfoy*

This undergoes the following transformation rules.

Coordination conjoining transformation

SD:	Conj-	*o:n*	*monšpini*	*aθ*	*en*	*ko:tfoy*
	X	NP	VP	NP	GP	NP
		1	2	3	4	5

SC: X-1+2+3+4+5 ⇒ 1+2-X+3+4+5



Coordination conjoining ⇓

o:n *monšpini* *e:d̲īd̲wīṟ* *aθ* *en* *ko:tfoy*

9.2.6. Verbal noun

In Toda verbal nouns play a very important role in syntax and we have to set up this as one of the grammatical categories for the description of the Toda language.

Verbal noun has got the force of a noun as well as a verb. "As a noun it can be used as the nominative of a subsequent verb; and as a verb it may be preceded by a nominative of its own and may govern a noun in case"[1]. This can be seen in Toda language also.

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[1] R. Caldwell, A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian family of Languages, p. 542

In the following sentence,

ni: podfīḍtn o:n koẓpini
1 2 3 4
'I saw you coming'
3 4 1 2

podfīḍt-n 'the act of coming' is a verbal noun which as a verb (Predicate) has its own subject *ni:* you (sg.) and as a noun (Object) it has another verb *koẓpini* 'saw-I' as its predicate. Verbal noun as regular noun can take case markers also.

Verbal noun is derived from the finite verb of the constituent sentence and it is embedded into the noun phrase of the matrix sentence.

Verbal noun occurs as regular nouns and they take all case suffixes.

9.2.6.1. Object

ni: podfīḍtn o:n koẓpini
1 2 3 4
'I saw you coming'
3 4 1 2

9.2.6.2. Instrumental

ao pi:fīḍtna:l o:n pozpini
1 2 3 4
'I came because of his going'
3 4 1 2

9.2.6.3. Purposive

tõwbnīs̱ ki:č mo:ṛyfīḍtgo:y pi:či
1 2 3 4
'Tebnis went for selling the potato'
1 4 3 2

9.2.6.4. Subject

ae pi:fīḍt wīḷ īyi
1 2 3 4
'it is good that he goes'
4 3 1 2

9.2.6.5. Dative

o:n ko:s kwīṛtfīḍtk pozpini
1 2 3 4
'I came for giving money'
1 4 3 2

9.2.6.1. Object

ni: podfīḍtn o:n koẕpini
1 2 3 4
'I saw you coming'
3 4 1 2

This sentence is produced by embedding the constituent sentence,

ni: podpi
1 2

'you come'
1 2

into the matrix sentence

o:n an koẓpini
1 2 3
'I saw it–that'

The resultant sentence is

o:n [ni: podpi] an koẓpini

[The constituent sentence is within parentheses] and this undergoes the following transformation rules.
Verbal nominalization transformation

SD:	*o:n*	*ni: podpi*	*ae*	*n*		*koẓpini*
	1	2 3	4	5		6
	NP	NP VP	PN	Obj.Case		VP

SC: 1+2+3+4+5+6 ⇒ 1+2+3–VN+4+5+6

Deletion transformation

SD: NP+NP+VP–VN+PN+Obj.C+VP
1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1+2+3–VN+4+5+6 ⇒ 1+2+3–VN+5+6

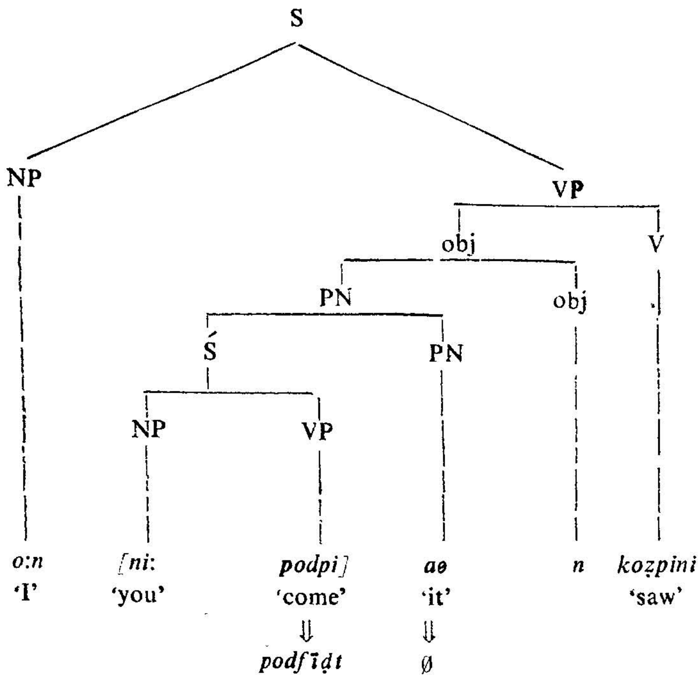
Permutation transformation

SD: NP+NP+VP–VN+Obj Case+VP
1 2 3 5 6

SC: 1+2+3–VN+5+6 => 2+3–VN+5+1+6
which brings 1 between 5 and 6,

we get

ni: podfīḍɪn o:n koẓpini



9.2.6.2. Instrumental

ae pi:fīḍtna:l o:n pozpini
1 2 3 4
'I came because of his going'

This sentence is produced by embedding the constituent sentence,

ae pi:ti
1 2
'he goes'
1 2

into the matrix sentence,

o:n aəna:l pozpini
1 2 3
'I came because of that'

The resultant sentence is

oə pi:fīḍtna:l o:n pozpini

The finite verb *pi:ti* is converted into *pi:fīḍtna:l* 'because of his going' when the constituent sentence is embedded into the matrix sentence

o:n [aə pi:ti] aən a:l pozpini

(The constituent sentence is within parentheses) and this undergoes the following transformation rules.

Verbal nominalization transformation

SD: *o:n aə pi:ti aən a:l pozpini*
1 2 3 4 5 6
NP NP VP PN Ins. VP

SC: 1+2+3+4+5+6 => 1+2+3–V.N+4+5+6

Deletion transformation

SD: NP+NP+VP–VN+PN+Ins.+VP
1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1+2+3-VN+4+5+6 => 1+2+3-VN+5+6

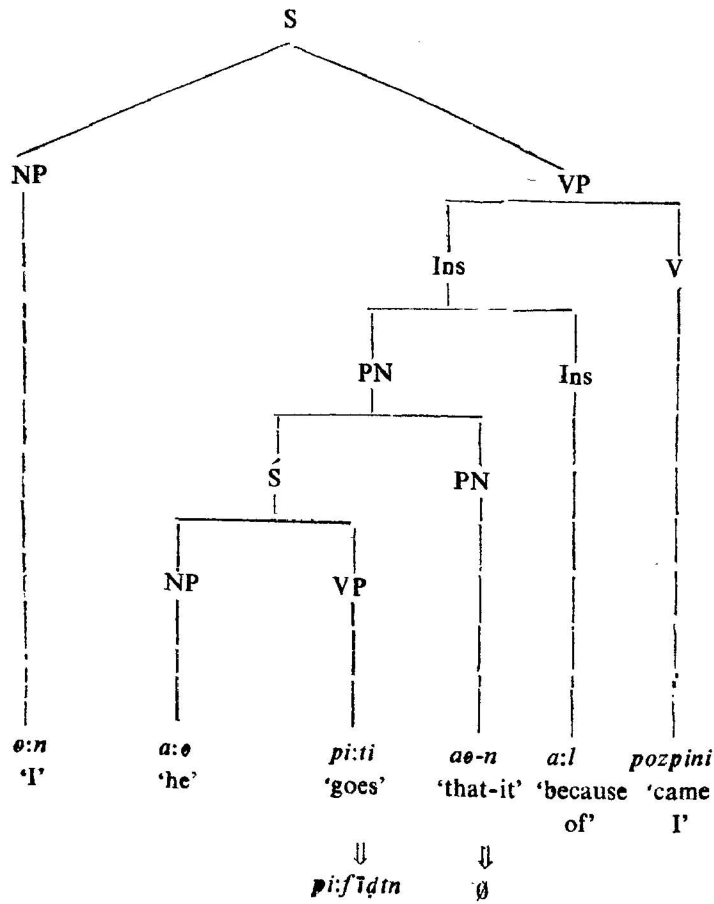
Permutation transformation

SD: NP+NP+VP-VN+Ins.+VP
1 2 3 5 6

SC: 1+2+3–VN+5+6 ⇒ 2+3–V.N+5+1+6

Then we get,

aə pī:fīḍtna:l o:n pozpini


S
NP
VP
Ins
V
PN
Ins
Ś
PN
NP
VP
θ:n 'I'
a:θ 'he'
pi:ti 'goes'
aθ-n 'that-it'
a:l 'because of'
pozpini 'came I'
⇓
pi:fīḍtn
⇓
∅

9.2.6.3 Purposive

tōwbnīs̱ ki:č mo:ṟyfīḍtgo:y pi:či
1 2 3 4

'Tebnis went for selling potato'
1 4 3 2

This sentence is produced by embedding the constituent sentence,

töwbnīs̱ ki:č mo:ṟti
1 2 3

Tebnis sells potato'
1 3 2

into the matrix sentence

töwbnīs̱ aɵgo:y pi:či
1 2 3

'Tebnis went for that purpose'

The finite verb *mo:ṟti* is converted into *mo:ṟyfīḍtgo:y* 'for selling' when constituent sentence is embedded into the matrix sentence.

The resultant sentence is

tōwbnīs̱ ki:č mo:ṟyfīḍtgo:y pi:či
töwbnīs̱ (töwbnīs̱ ki:č mo:ṟti) aɵ go:y ʃī:či
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(The constituent sentence is within parentheses) and this undergoes the following transformation rules.

Verbal nominalization transformation

SD : *töwbnīṣ töwbnīṣ ki:č mo:ṛti ae goy pi:či*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	NP	NP	Obj.	VP	Pn.	Purp. case	VP

SC : 1+2+3+4+5+6+7 => 1+2+3+4-VN+5+6+7

Deletion transformation

SD : NP+NP+Obj.+VP+PN.+Purp.+VP

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

SC: 1+2+3+4-VN+5+6+7 => 1+2+3+4-VN+6+7

Equi NP deletion transformation

SD: NP_i + NP_i + Obj + VP–VN + Case + VP

	1	2	3	4	6	7

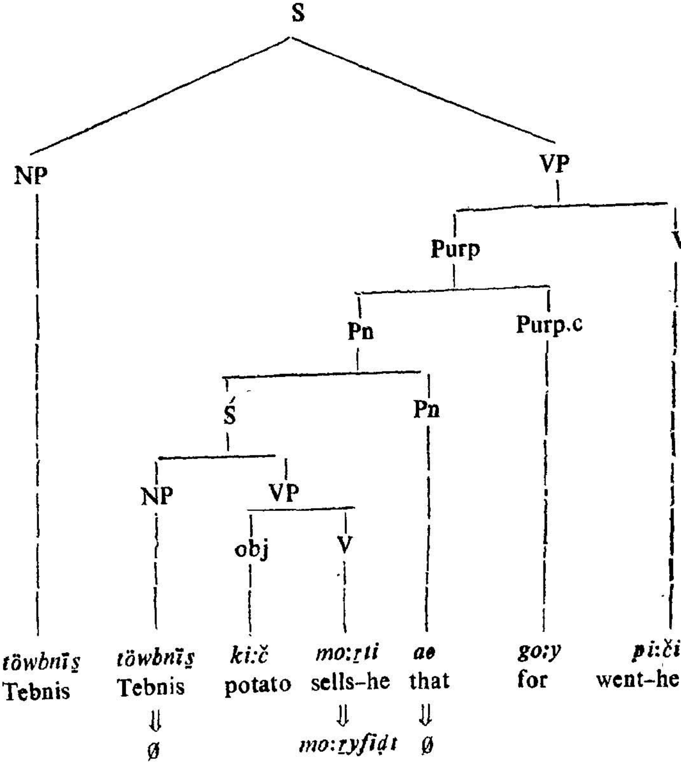
SC : 1+2+3+4–VN+6+7 ⇒ 1+3+4–VN+6+7

if 1=2

(Since 1=2, 2 is deleted)

Then we get,

töwbnīṣ ki:č mo:ṛyfīḍtgo:y pi:či



9.2.6.4. Subject

ae podfīḍt wīḷ īyi
1 2 3̣ 4
'it is good that he comes'

This sentence is produced by embedding the coustituent sentence,

aeθ podti
1 2

'he comes'
1 2

into the matrix sentence

aeθ wīḷ īyi

'it is good'

The finite verb of the constituent sentence *podti* 'comes-he' is converted into *podfīḍt* 'the act of coming' when the constituent sentence is embedded into the matrix sentence.

The resultant sentence is

aeθ podfīḍt wīḷīyi 'it is good that he comes'

(*aeθ podti*) *aeθ wīḷ īyi*
1 2 3 4 5

(The constituent sentence is within parentheses) and this undergoes the following transformation rules.

Verbal nominalization transformation

SD: *aeθ podti aeθ wīḷ īyi*
1 2 3 4 5
NP VP NP Adv. VP

SC: 1+2+3+4+5 => 1+2-VN+3+4+5

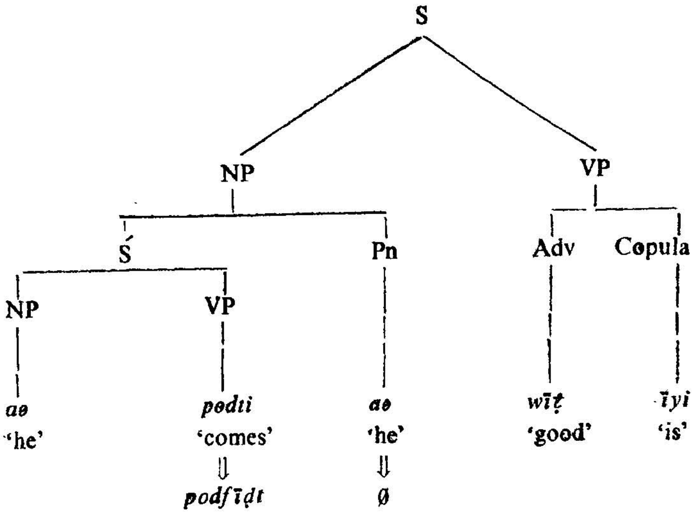
Deletion transformation

SD: NP + NP - VN + NP + Adv. + VP
1 2 3 4 5

SC: 1+2-VN+3+4+5 => 1+2-VN+4+5

Then we get,

aeθ podfīḍt wīḷ īyi



9.2.6.5. Dative

pö:ṛmox o:ṭfo:š kaṭfīḍtk podti
1 2 3 4
'Tamilboy comes for learning the Toda language'
1 4 3 2

This sentence is produced by embedding the constituent sentence

pö:ṛmox o:ṭfo:š kaṭti
1 2 3
'Tamilboy learns the Toda language'

into the matrix sentence

pö:ṛmox aθk podti
1 2 3
Tamilboy comes for that'

The finite verb of the constituent sentence *kaṯṯi* 'learns-he' is converted into *kaṯfīḍtk* 'for learning' when the constituent sentence is embedded into the matrix sentence.

The resultant sentence is

pö:ṛmox (pö:ṛmox o:ṯ̣ fo:š kaṯṯi) aek podti

(The constituent sentence is within parentheses) and this undergoes the following transformational rules.

Verbal nominalization transformation

SD :	*pö:ṛmox*	*pö:ṛmox*	*o:ṯ̣fo:š*	*kaṯṯi*	*ae*	*k*	*podti*
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	NP	NP	Obj	VP	Pn.	Dat.case	VP

SC : 1+2+3+4+5+6+7 => 1+2+3+4-VN+5+6+7

Deletion transformation

SD :.	NP +	NP +	Obj. +	VP–VN +	Pn. +	Dat. +	VP
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

SC : 1+2+3+4VN+5+6+7 => 1+2+3+4-VN+6+7

Equi NP Deletion transformation

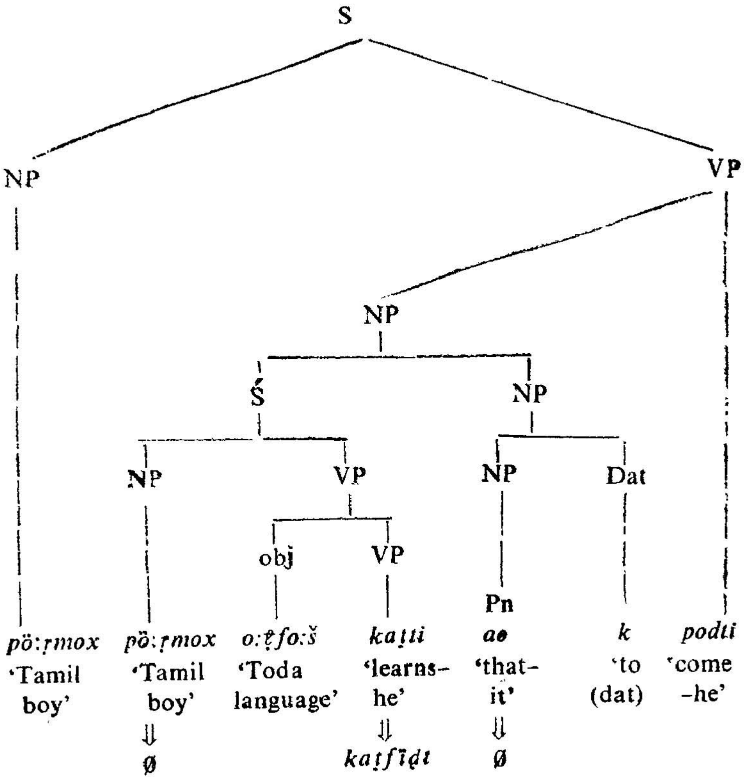
SD :	NP_i +	NP_i +	Obj. +	VP–VN +	Case +	VP
	1	2	3	4	6	7

SC : 1+2+3+4–VN+6+7 => 1+3+4–VN+6+7
If 1=2

(Since 1=2, 2 is deleted.)

we get,

pö:ṛmox o:ṯ̣fo:š kaṯfīḍtk podti



9.2 7. **Conditional**

The conditional participles are always followed by non-past. The conditional participle expresses either negation or affirmation. A sentence with conditional participle may have two or more subjects and they may be identical or non-identical.

Conditional is in construction with the following verb

aθ podnwīṛ o:n pi:pini
1 2 3 4
'I will go if he comes'
3 4 1 2

podn-wīṛ 'if comes' is conditional and it is in construction with the verb *pi:pini* 'will go–I'. Also in the following sentence

aθ po:rofoynwīṛ o:n pī:xeni
'I wọn't go if he does not come'

Here *po:rofoynwīṛ* 'if does not come' is conditional and it is in construction with the verb *pī:xeni* 'won't go–I'.

In the above sentences *wīṛ* is the conditional suffix.

9.2.7.1. Affirmative conditional

sinxe:n podnwīṛ o:n pojo:rtk pi:pini
1 2 3 4 5
'I will go to Ootacamund if Sinkan comes'
3 5 4 1 2

This sentence is produced by embedding the constituent sentence

sinxe:n podti
1 2
'Sinkan will come'
1 2

into the matrix sentence

o:n atfok pojo:rtk pi:pini
1 2 3 4
'Then I will go to Ootacamund'
2 1 4 3

The matrix sentence contains *atfok* 'then' and the predicate is always non-past. The finite verb of the constituent sentence *podti* 'will come-he' is converted into *podnwi̇r* 'if comes', when the constituent sentence is embedded into the matrix sentence.

o:n (sinxe:n podti) atfok pojo:rtk pi:pini

(The constituent sentence is within parentheses) and this undergoes the following transformational rules.

Conditional transformation

SD: *o:n sinxe:n podti atfok pojo:rtk pi:pini*
1 2 3 4 5 6
NP NP VP Adv. Dat. VP

SC: 1+2+3+4+5+6 => 1+2+3-Cond.+4+5+6

Adv. Deletion transformation

SD: NP+NP+VP-Cond.+Adv.+Dat.+VP
1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1+2+3-Cond.+4+5+6 => 1+2+3-Cond.+5+6

Permutation transformation

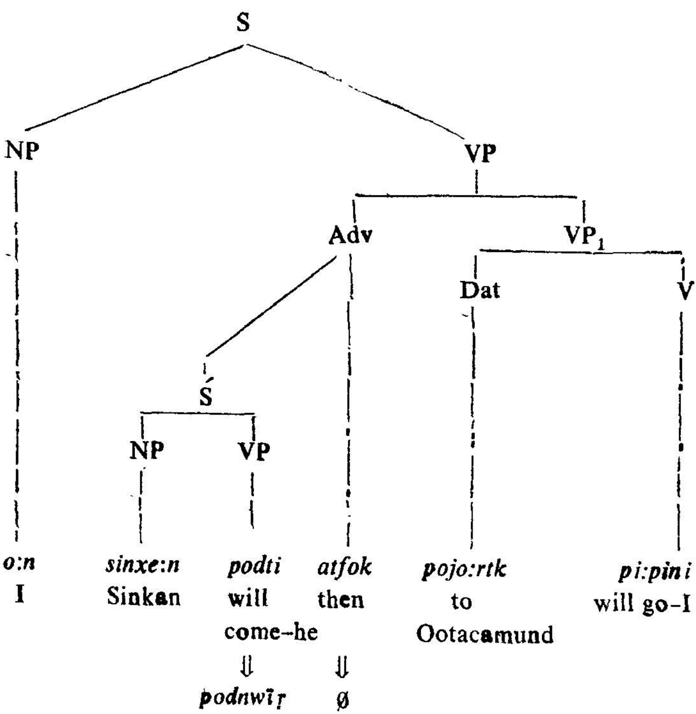
SD : 1+2+3-Cond.+5+6

SC : 1+2+3-Cond+5+6 => 2+3+1+5+6

which brings 1 between 3 and 5

Then we get,

sinxe:n podnwīṛ o:n pojo:rtk pi:pini



9.2.7.2.1. Negative conditional

The constituent sentence is always negative but the matrix sentence may or may not be in the negation.

oṇon po:rofoynwīṛ wīṛfed podti
1 2 3 4
'if elder brother does not come younger brother
1 2 3
will come'
4

This sentence is produced by embedding the constituent sentence

oṇon po:rīyi
1 2
'the elder brother does not come
or
the elder brother won't come'

into the matrix sentence

wīṛfed atfok podti
1 2 3
'the younger brother will come then'
1 3 2

The finite verb of the constituent sentence *po:rīyi* 'won't come or does not come' is converted into *po:rofoynwīṛ* 'if does not come', when the constituent sentence is embedded into the matrix sentence.

wīṛfed (oṇon po:rīyi) atfok podti

(The constituent sentence is within parentheses) and this undergoes the following transformational rules.

Conditional transformation

SD : *wīṛfed oṇon po:rīyi atfok podti*
1 2 3 4 5
NP NP VP Adv. VP

SC : 1+2+3+4+5 => 1+2+3-Cond+4+5

Adv. deletion transformation

SD: NP + NP + VP–Cond. + Adv. + VP
1 2 3 4 5

SC: 1 + 2 + 3-Cond. + 4 + 5 => 1 + 2 + 3–Cond. + 5

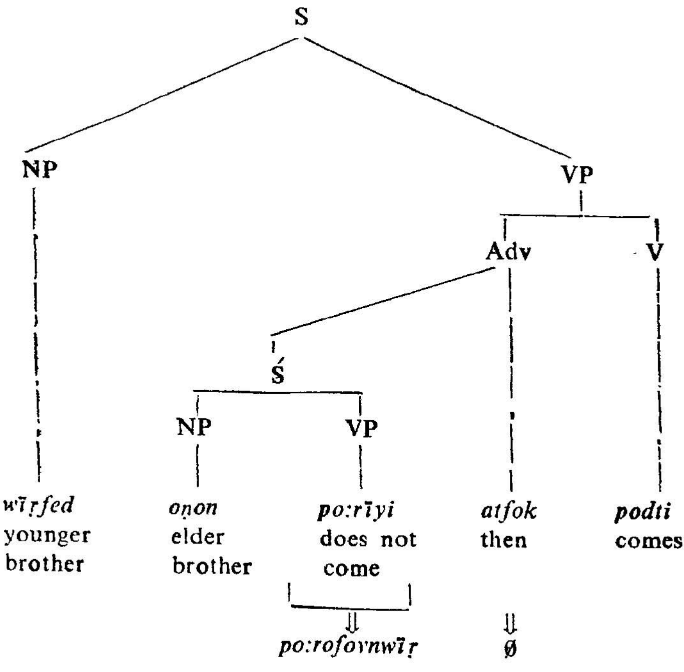
Permutation transformation

SD: NP + NP + VP–Cond. + VP
1 2 3 5

SC: 1 + 2 + 3–Cond + 5 => 2 + 3–Cond. + 1 + 5

Then we get,

oṇon po:rofoynwīṛ wīṛfed podti



9.2.7.2.2.

mutxe:n öštofoynwīṛ sinmuṛy po:rīyi
1 2 3 4
'if Mutikan does not say Sinmury won't come'
1 2 3 4

This sentence is produced by embedding the constituent sentence

mutxe:n öštīyi
1 2
'Mutikan does not say'
1 2

into the matrix sentence

sinmuṛy atfok po:rīyi
1 2 3
'Sinmury won't come then'

The finite verb of the constituent sentence *öštīyi* does not say' is converted into *öštofoynwīṛ* 'if does not say' when the constituent sentence is embedded into the matrix sentence.

sinmuṛy [mutxe:n po:rīyi] atfok po:rīyi

(The constituent sentence is within parentheses] and this undergoes the following transformational rules.

Conditional transformation

SD : *sinmuṛy mutxe:n öštīyi atfok po:rīyi*
1 2 3 4 5
NP NP VP Adv. VP

SC : 1+2+3+4+5 => 1+2+3-Cond+4+5

Adv. deletion transformation

SD: NP + NP + VP-Cond + Adv. + VP
  1 2 3 4 5

SC: 1+2+3-Cond.+4+5 => 1+2+3-Cond.+5

Permutation transformation

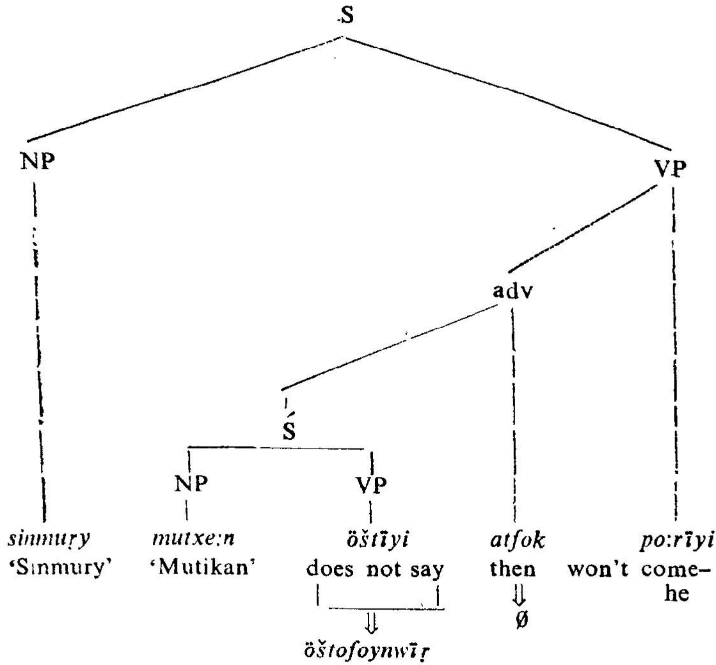
SD: 1+2+3-Cond+5

SC: 1+2+3-Cond+5 => 2+3+1+5

which brings 1 between 3 and 5

Then we get,

mutxe:n öštofoynwīṛ sinnuṛy po:rīyi



9.2.8. **Participial noun** [P. N.]

For the structure of participial noun (See 4.14)

Participial noun in Toda as in other Dravidian languages is derived from the relative participle and noun. So, all the relations that exist between the relative participle and the following noun are also found here. In Tamil *vantavan* 'one who came' is a participial noun derived from the relative participle, *vanta* 'came' and the pronoun *avan* 'that-he' whereas in Toda there is no gender distinction in third person like Tamil *avan*, *avaḷ* and *adu*. Participial noun is gotten from relative participle + *o:ṯ*.

The structure is

S_2 + R.P + *o:ṯ*

Ex. *kīs+p+∅+o:ṯ*	=>	*kīspo:ṯ*	'person who does'
pod+p+∅+o:ṯ	=>	*podpo:ṯ*	'person who comes'
kwīṛt+p+∅+o:ṯ	=>	*kwīṛtpo:ṯ*	'person who gives'
kīs+∅+foy+o:ṯ	=>	*kīsfoyo:ṯ*	'person who did'
pi:+∅+foy+o:ṯ	=>	*pi:foyo:ṯ*	'person who went'
tīḏ+∅+foy+o:ṯ	=>	*tīḏfoyo:ṯ*	'person who ate'

9.3. **Singularly transformations**

"In many natural languages we find changes of order among various constituents of sentences, deletion of certain constituents, additions of certain items etc. and they are taken care of by certain transformations which are known as Singularly transformations"[1]. The singularly transformations take

1 S. Agesthialingom, *A Generative Grammar of Tamil*, p. 109.

place within simple sentences and there are three kinds of transformations, viz , permutation, replacement and deletion. In Toda language we find certain changes in the order of various constituents and they are dealt with here.

9.3.1. **Permutation**

9.3.1.1. Opt.NP+Case+V => Case+NP+V

o:n an kozpini
1 2 3
'I saw him'
=> *a:n o:n kozpini*
2 1 3

9.3.1.2. Opt.NP+Tm+V => Tm+NP+V

töwbnīs mune:r pi:či
1 2 3
'Tebnis went day before yesterday'
=> *mune:r töwbnīs pi:či*
2 1 3

9.3.1.3. Opt.NP+Abl.+V => Abl.+NP+V

o:n modsn pozpini
1 2 3
'I came from mund'
=> *modsn o n pozpini*
2 1 3

9.3.1.4 Opt.NP+Soc.+V => Soc.+NP+V

o:n anpody pi:špini
1 2 3
'I went with him'
=> *anpody o:n pi:špini*
2 1 3

9.3.1.5. Opt.X+Y+Temp.+V => Y+Temp.+X+V

o:n aə podfok pi:špini
1 2 3 4
'I went when he came'

=> *aə podfok o:n pi:špini*
2 3 1 4

9.3.1.6 Rel.part+X+Y+Copula=>Y+Rel.part+X+Copula

uḍt ni:r īə īyi
1 2 3 4
'This is drinking water'

=> *īə uḍt ni:r īyi*
3 1 2 4

9.3.1.7 Opt.NP+Purp.+Adv.+V

aə aəgo:y a:nk pi:či
1 2 3 4
'he went for that purpose'

=> NP+Adv.+Purp.+V

aə a:nk aəgo:y pi:či
1 3 2 4

and

Adv.+NP+Purp.+V

a:nk aə aəgo:y pi:či
3 1 2 4

9.3.1.8. Opt.NP+Purp.+Dat.+V

mutna:s aəgo:y pojo:rtk pi:či
1 2 3 4
'Mutnas went to Ootacamund for that purpose'

=> NP + Dat. + Purp. + V

mutna:ṣ pojo:rtk aəgo:y pi:či
1 3 2 4

=> Purp. + NP + Dat + V

aəgo:y mutna:ṣ pojo:rtk pi:či
2 1 3 4

=> Dat. + Purp. + NP + V

pojo:rtk aəgo:y mutna:ṣ pi:či
3 2 1 4

and

Dat. + NP + Purp. + V

pojo:rtk mutna:ṣ aəgo:y pi:či
3 1 2 4

9.3.2. **Deletion**

9.3.2.1. Num. + Case + Num. + NP + V

wīḏ u:ṟs wīḏ ro:jn wīḍy
1 2 3 4 5
'there was a king in a country'

=> Num + Case + Num + NP

wīḏ u:ṟṣ wīḏ ro:jn
1 2 3 4

9.3.2.2. Dem.Adj. + Case + Num. + NP + V =>
Dem.Adj + Case + Num. + NP

a ro:jnk wīḏ tojmox wīḍy
1 2 3 4 5

=> *a ro:jnk wīḏ tojmox*
1 2 3 4

9 3.2 3. $Pn + \begin{Bmatrix} NP \\ VP \end{Bmatrix} => \begin{Bmatrix} NP \\ VP \end{Bmatrix}$

o:n pozpini => *pozpini*
'I' 'came' 'came'
1 2 2

iθ en a:ṣ => *en a:ṣ*
'this(is) my house' 'my house'
1 2 3 2 3

iθ ogoḏykub mu:ṭīr => *ogoḏykub mu:ṭīr*
'this(is) Kotagiri bus 'kotagiri bus'
1 2 3 2 3
'this is Kotagiri bus'

iθ kwa:ymütu:r īr => *kwa:ymütu:r īr*
'this(is) Coimbatore buffalo 'Coimbatore baffalo'
1 2 3 2 3
'this is Coimbatore buffalo'

iθ kaṟno:ṭ īr => *kaṟno:ṭ īr*
'this(is) Mysore buffalo' 'Mysore buffalo'
1 2 3 2 3
'this is Mysore buffalo'

9.3.3. Replacement

9.3.3.1. Opt. $\begin{bmatrix} \text{Dat.} \\ \text{Loc.} \end{bmatrix} \Rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} a{:}nk \\ i{:}nk \end{Bmatrix} \\ \begin{Bmatrix} al \\ il \end{Bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$

sinmuṛy moṛtk pi:ti
1 2 3
'Sinmury goes to the mund'

=> *sinmuṛy a:nk pi:ti*
'Sinmury goes there'

sinxe:n pojo:rtk podti
1 2 3
'Sinkan comes to Ootacamund'

=> *sinxe:n i:nk podti*
'Sinkan comes here'

ko:ltmox poṭyš wīḍy
1 2 3
'dairy boy is in the temple or dairy'

=> *ko:ltmox īl wīḍy*
'dairy boy is here'

ay o:ṭ kwa:ṛṣ wīḍy
1 2 3 4
'that man is in the forest'

=> *ay o:ṭ al wīḍy*
'that man is there'

9.3.3.2. Opt. Tm *-a:* => *etfok*

sinxe:n norpoxol-a: pi:či

=> *sinxe:n etfok pi:šk*?

'when did Sinkan go?'

mutna:s ekarfotk-a: pi:či

=> *mutna:s etfok pi:šk*?

'when did Mutnas go?'

sinkijpu:f üjmonyk-a: pi:či

=> *sinkijpu:f etfok pi:šk* ?

'when did *Sinkijpuf* go?'

mutxe:n mu:dmonyk-a: pi:či

=> *mutxe:n etfok pi:šk*?

'when did Mutikan go?'

or

'at what time did Mutigan go?'

9.3.3.3. Opt. $\left\{ \begin{matrix} T_1 \\ T_2 \end{matrix} \right\}$ *-a:* => *etfīn*

mune:r-a: => *etfīn*

mutxe:n etfīn pozk?

'on which day did Mutikan come?'

īne:r-a: => *etfīn*

na:nxe:n etfīn pozk?

'on which day did Nanikan come?'

īd-a: => *etfīn*

sinkijpu:f etfīn pozk?

'on which day did Sinkijpuf come?'

makolk-a: => *etf·īn*

mutna:ṣ etfīn podu?
'on which day will Mutikan come?'

9.3.3.4. $\left\{\begin{matrix} a{:}nk \\ i{:}nk \\ N\text{–}\check{s} \\ N\text{–}k \end{matrix}\right\}$ *-a:* => $\left\{\begin{matrix} e{:}nk \\ e{:}l \end{matrix}\right\}$

a:nk-a: => *e:nk*

aə e:nk pi:u?
'where does he go?'

i:nk-a: => *e:nk*

sinkijpu:ʃ e:nk podu?
'where does he come?'

potyš-a: => *e:l*

aθ e:l wīḍy?
'where is it?'

pojo:rtk-a: => *e:nk*

aθ e:nk pi:šk?
'where did he go?'

9.3.3.5. Opt. NP + N_1–Acc.–Conj. + N_2 = Acc.–Conj. + V
=> NP + PNpl.–Acc. + V

o:n sinmuṛy-n-m mutna:ṣ-n-m koẓpini
1 2 3 4
'I saw Sinmury and Mutnas'

=> *o:n aθa:n koẓpini*
1 Pnpl 4
'I saw them'

——:——

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